# Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium on the Sociology of Music Education

5-9 July 2009, Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick, Limerick, Ireland

Published by St Patrick's College, Dublin

Proceedings of the 6th International Symposium on the Sociology of Music Education 2009

Coláiste Mhuire gan Smál
Mary Immaculate College

Edited by John O'Flynn

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# Preface

*Background*

The first Sociology of Music Education (SoME) symposium took place at the University of Oklahoma, Norman in April 1995 when Roger Rideout, Stephen Paul and Hildegard Froehlich invited an international group of scholars to contemplate sociological issues and perspectives in music education scholarship and research. The second SoME gathering was convened four years later at the same venue, followed by the third symposium in 2003, hosted by the University of North Texas, Denton. The conference series continued in 2005, taking place this time at Amherst, Massachussetts. A biennial pattern was established two years later at the fifth international symposium, held for the first time outside the United States at St John's Memorial University, Newfoundland, Canada. The move of the sixth SoME symposium in 2009 to Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick, Ireland marked a further development and extension from the original grouping, but it is noteworthy that a number of the delegates (including one founder) from the first gathering presented at and/or attended the Limerick event.

*Limerick 2009*

While previous symposia had always embraced an international perspective, SoME 2009 was the first in the series to be convened in Europe. Interest and scholarship in matters pertaining to music education sociology have steadily grown since the first symposium, and this was evidenced by the quantity, breadth and quality of papers presented in Limerick. A total of forty-two peer-reviewed presentations were read, twenty-five of which are included in these proceedings. But before moving on to

strictly scholarly matters, I would like to note the scheduled *music* events that acted to remind those of us involved of 'the thing itself', to echo the phrase used by Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin, Professor of Music at the University of Limerick, during his opening speech at the symposium. Two of these events took place on campus: an enlivening session of traditional music performed by recent graduates of Mary Immaculate College, and a breathtaking piano recital by Durval Cesetti featuring works by Szymanowski and Chopin. As the symposium dates coincided with the MBNA Limerick International Music Festival, delegates also had the pleasure of attending its opening concert performed by the Irish Chamber Orchestra (quite a few also found their way to a cabaret at the late night festival club). And it was fitting perhaps that the symposium would end by way of an impromptu musical expression led by two of its participants, Mary Nugent on wooden flute and Thomas Johnston on uileann pipes.

An international dimension to the symposium was evidenced by delegates' countries of residence, with representatives from Brazil, Canada, Estonia, Finland, Greece, Ireland, Norway, Singapore, Turkey, UK, and US. As noted above, the range of papers given was quite broad, from presentations that reported on school- or community-based research, to those that were primarily engaged with sociological and/or educational theories. A number of papers also addressed wider political issues, for example, Evelyn Grant's work on music and social inclusion, and Bruce Carter and Louis Bergonzi's groundbreaking presentation on 'Queer Study and Music Education'.

The symposium included two open discussions. The first of these, 'Identifying Key Areas for Research in the Sociology of Music Education', led to a lively debate on the potential interrelationships between theory, practice and research. Without wishing to reduce the complexity of the arguments expressed, two distinct 'camps'

emerged at the opening of this discussion, namely, those who regarded sociological theory as fundamental to the interests of the symposium series, and those who considered practice-based inquiry as a more grounded starting point for research. What followed was a very useful exploration of the ways in which these two positions could complement one another. The second discussion centred on where future biennial symposia should be hosted, and it was agreed in principle that for the forseeable future the honour should alternate between North America and Europe (Michigan, US in 2011 and Greece in 2013). However, a number of delegates were of the view that the symposium itself needed to be more socially active in ensuring that it became truly international and inclusive, and accordingly, venues outside of Europe and North America ought to be considered beyond 2013.

Mention should also be made here of the Society for Music Education in Ireland (SMEI), which held its first exploratory meeting during SoME 2009 in Limerick. SMEI was officially established in June 2010 following extensive consultation and correspondence, and the society was granted ISME national affiliate status in August 2010. It seems that wheel has now come circle with the launch of these proceedings at SMEI's first annual conference held at University College Cork in November 2011.

*Proceedings*

While it is beyond the scope of brief preface to offer a preview on each of the twenty-five chapters in this publication, I would like to say something about the two keynote papers. The title for Lucy Green's essay asks the timely question, 'What do we mean by the sociology of music education?' Her paper goes on to map the diverse origins of the sub-discipline(s) involved, considers what these fields might include and

contemplates possible future directions. Lucy's meta-analysis also proves useful in interpreting the spread of themes represented in the symposium, insofar as it highlights the ways in which music education researchers come to employ sociological concepts and/or categories, whether these are considered consciously or otherwise.

The second keynote by Marie McCarthy asks us to appraise global music education issues in changing demographic contexts. Adopting a historical lens, she first explores how various ideologies have influenced music education policies in Western educational systems, largely with the goal of achieving social cohesion. The paper then moves away from a systemic vantage point towards the perspectives of migrant groups for whom the construction of musical community and narrative may offer ways of negotiating cultural change.

The remaining chapters are rich in their diversity, with topics as seemingly far apart as sociologist Basil Bernstein's theorization of 'the pedagogic device' (Ruth Wright and Hildegard Froehlich) to the identity of kit drummers (Gareth Dylan Smith); on closer inspection though, we might find unexpected 'conversations' emerging between these and other contributions. In turn, it is hoped that the 2009 *Proceedings* can offer some starting points for future symposia.

John O'Flynn November 2011

# Keynote Paper 1: What do we mean by 'the sociology of music education'?

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*Introduction*

I think we would all agree that, compared with the age of the discipline of sociology itself, which has antecedents in the 18th century, and the sociology of music, with antecedents in the 19th century, the sub-discipline of the *sociology of music education* is very new. In fact the phrase barely existed only 15 years ago. In this keynote I would like to address a question which I hope will be of some relevance or interest to most people here. It is:

a) What is meant by 'the sociology of music education'?

Of course I can't help but give a personal view of what I mean by the 'sociology of music education'. Something which we'll no doubt be discussing over the next few days is also, of course:

b) What do *we*, as this particular group of people who have all come to the Sixth Biennial International Conference of the Sociology of Music Education, mean by this term; what areas of agreement do we have about it, and where are our differences?

I am of course not going to attempt to say what I think this group of people means by the term, but near the end of my talk I will present a little exercise that I have undertaken towards summarising the topics of this conference. A third, and crucial, question to which I will finally very briefly turn is:

c) What's the point of doing research in the sociology of music education?

## What is meant by 'the sociology of music education'?

In considering what is meant by a term, we necessarily come across the question of how it differs from other similar or cognate terms. So, how does the sociology of music education differ from, say, the psychology and social psychology of music education; ethnomusicology; the philosophy of music education; and the history of music education? Which also brings in the question – what does our field have *in common* with those fields? And then again, we need to ask – how is our sub-discipline related to its parent discipline of the overall discipline of sociology itself; and within that, one on hand, the sociology of music; and on the other hand, the sociology of education. It's helpful to start by stripping away both the concept of 'music' and the concept of 'education', so as to consider the main features of 'sociology' itself, at an abstract, general level.

### Sociology

Perhaps we could agree something like this: that sociology is the study of:

a) *Relationships* between people. This can be anything from large-scale macro-level relationships between classes or other social groups; to small-scale interpersonal relationships between members of a family or between say, teachers and learners in a classroom (or instrumental studio).

b) How those relationships become normal and *institutionalised*. By 'normal' I don't mean 'natural', but how they come to *seem* natural, and to be taken-for-granted. By 'institutionalised' I don't mean just how they turn into bricks-and-mortar buildings such as schools, universities, hospitals and so on, but also abstract institutions, which may or may not be associated with particular types of buildings, such as marriage.

c) How those relationships and institutions help to *reproduce* the society along the *same* lines. That is, how they keep the society going, and how they help to ensure the continuation of the same relationships and institutions, and the same practices and values, from generation to generation. This can occur through taken-for-granted traditions, or through governmental policies specially designed to uphold old values and practices; and through the exercise of power by groups in whose interests it is to keep things the same.

d) How those relationships and institutions help to *revolutionise*, or initiate *change* in the society. This can happen through bloody revolution or military coup, or more peacefully through democratic processes leading to changes in governmental policy; or through technological, demographic and cultural changes of many different kinds.

Although by no means adequate at a general level, I hope this thumbnail definition is serviceable enough for now.

**Social groups**

As a major part of the above areas of enquiry, sociologists have of course considered the nature of social groups. Some of the most familiar and well-researched ones are of course, class, ethnicity and gender; but there are many, many more including age, religion, race, the family, and so on. Of course, groups are bound to overlap each other – for example, within the middle class there are several different ethnic groups, and within each ethnic group there are likely to be many classes. At the level of the individual person, each person is bound to be a member of several different social groups. Some of these might conflict with each other – for example a person could live in a middle-class family home but be doing a working-class job; and some of them might change over time – for example a person may change their religion, move from one class to another, or even have a sex-change. The crucial thing is that

it is impossible for any person to avoid belonging to a range of social groups. Even a person who is explicitly committed to a position of extreme individualism has acquired his or her individualist perspective through social interaction and membership of a variety of social groups, and will belong to some social groups whether they like it or not.

**Social groups and music**

So, how do the concepts of sociology and of social groups, so far, relate to music? One issue is that people in different social groups are liable to engage in different musical *practices* in relation to different *kinds* of music, or what I will call musical *styles.* For example as is well known in many countries of the world: the majority of people who listen to Western classical music, are white, middle class and over age of 35; most (but not all) rap artists and DJs are black, male and under 35; most (but not all) famous classical composers are white, male and dead.

Note that even in these brief examples, I have referred to four social *groups* (race, social class, age and gender); and, as it happens, three musical *practices* (listening, performing and composing), and two *styles* of music (classical and rap). Therefore I'd now like to think about how social *groups* relate to musical *practices*.

**The social organisation of musical practice**

It can be helpful to break down the question of how social groups relate to musical *practices*, into three main areas:

a) Musical production: e.g. composition, performance, sound engineering etc. – including, incidentally, these practices when they take place in classrooms or other teaching-and-learning contexts.

b) Distribution: e.g. retail of sound-recordings, TV, radio, music on the internet, live concerts, busking on the streets, sessions in pubs, religious ceremonies, or teaching.

c) Consumption – or what I will refer to as reception: this includes how people use music, e.g. listening to recorded music in their homes, at work, in the car, on their iPods, radio or whatever medium; watching music programmes on TV; going to concerts, dancing to music; just hearing music played around and about; and also teaching and learning.

I think at this point it is helpful to distinguish between *large-scale social* groups – such as class, ethnicity, gender – and *small-scale socio-musical* groups, with respect to the practices of musical production, distribution and reception.

As just one example, regarding production: different social groups – e.g. classes, ethnic groups, gender groups, age groups, religious groups and so on – are characteristically involved in producing different types of music in different ways, depending of course on the historical era, geographical location and other contexts. At the same time, therefore, musical production throws up new socio-musical groups, such as performers, composers, recording engineers; as well as subgroups within each of these such as orchestral composers, songwriters, rock bands, orchestras; and within those, trumpeters, singers, sound engineers, or kids recording in their bedrooms. Of course these groups will characteristically be involved in different musical *styles*, and will often have quite specialised involvements in quite a limited number of styles. Although some musical producers, such as session musicians, might cut across several styles, even session musicians are unlikely to be able to play across a really

diverse range: say, Indian classical music *and* Western classical music *and* African *and* Gamelan music too!

That's just one example, concerning only to the category of production, of how large-scale social groups can interrelate with small-scale socio-musical groups, regarding a range of musical styles. Of course there are many other examples within the category of production; and then many more within the categories of distribution and reception too.

**Musical beliefs / values**

As I've already indicated, sociology does not only consider social groups in relation to their practices, but also the complex, sometimes contradictory, changeable and overlapping *beliefs and values* that the people in those complex, sometimes contradictory, changeable and overlapping social groups hold. Along with that area come questions about:

-how people come to agree and disagree about their beliefs and values;

-how they *re*produce old beliefs / values and *pro*duce new ones.

Any discussion of how something is valued tends to lead to distinctions between that which is valued, and that which is not valued. In a sense we could say that valuing actually produces distinctions, which is of course why the great French sociologist Bourdieu named one of his most important books by that title. In music, most of the broad 'distinctions' concern what we can generally term 'musical style', which is categorised by the music industry, education and several other social groups or institutions, into the main, broad categories of classical, popular, jazz, folk and traditional musics of the world. As with social groups, there are of course blurred boundaries, changes, and many overlaps and contradictions between these.

Generally when considering what people believe about music and how they value music, the concept of musical style comes into the fore. This is because when we consider our beliefs and values about music we necessarily already start to make distinctions; and the distinctions we make are liable to include, somewhere in them, stylistic distinctions. This is the case whether we are distinguishing between large-scale styles, such as 'I like Beethoven but I don't like Mozart'; or between finer gradations, such as 'I like Mozart's slow movements but I'm not keen on his fast stuff'. Also of course, people can value some particular pieces of music *within* one style more than another; for example, we can say 'I like Bob Dylan's 1960s' songs but I don't like any after 1972'; or even 'I love "The Times They Are A Changing" but I can't stand "Subterranean Homesick Blues".'

When discussing issues of musical belief and value, sociologists – including myself – as well as philosophers, psychologists, ethnomusicologists and others, have for many years used the term 'musical meaning'. The question of what people think about music and how they value it then can sometimes turn around to appear to be a question about what music *means* to people. This has caused a lot of confusion when it is accompanied by an implicit assumption that music somehow *contains* a meaning off its own bat. Of course, that is an appearance that sociologists of music, amongst others, have been quick to dismiss.

For a time, in much sociology of music – and in feminist musicology and other critical musicological arenas – it was either implicitly assumed, or explicitly argued, that music's meaning is *entirely* dependent on whatever people say it means (or what they believe it means); and by the same token, music's value is entirely dependent on whatever value people attach to it. This position is very much in accord with the work of Bourdieu. Taking that position, it follows that, for example, Western classical music is not '*really*' 'great'; but only seems to be great because it *happens* to be the favoured music of those social classes who have the most power to claim its greatness, and – more importantly – to put in place

various mechanisms of musical production, distribution and reception which *reproduce* its greatness.

This process of reproduction is made possible by two, what you might call, belief systems, or two aspects of ideology: – reification and legitimation. Through *reification*, classical music, for example, takes on the appearance of possessing greatness, not as a result of human belief or value, but as a property which is independent of human belief and value, and which is, therefore, is a natural, eternal and inevitable part of the music. Greatness is, then, a property of classical music, or is contained within classical music. Through the processes of *legitimation*, the social practices which are built up around the greatness of classical music, the huge amount of effort and resources, and the high status attached to classical music, seem to be justifiable – or legitimate – and indeed necessary, because the greatness of the music inevitably *demands* them, and it would be morally *wrong* for a society to ignore this music. In such ways, reification and legitimation are twin aspects of musical belief and value – or in other words, are the building-blocks of musical ideology.

Of course, *music education* has historically been one of the most powerful social institutions involved in the reproduction of ideologies, that is beliefs and values, concerning which music is 'great', and which music is less so, or which music is 'rubbish'. At the same time, one of the ways that music education has traditionally participated in this is not only through helping to define which *music* is supposed to be 'great' but also, of course, through defining which *musical abilities* are supposed to be the most valuable and the most advanced; and then, through developing assessment mechanisms which most highly reward those children (or adults) who display those particular abilities, and ignore or give lower grades to those children (or adults) who do not. And the most valuable and greatest musical abilities are of course, the ones that are required in order to produce, as well as to wisely consume, the most valuable and greatest music!

These comments incidentally don't apply only to the Western music education system and Western classical music, which is of course what I've been implying. But if they have sociological soundness, they should apply in a broad sense, to any education system or any teaching-and-learning practices, and the beliefs and values that go with those, in any society, and with relation to any style of music. The fact that differing social groups within any one society can have differing – and often strongly felt – views about these matters is also bound to be the case, to varying degrees in different social times and places.

**What we construe and what we construct**

It is important here to distinguish between how we can study a set of beliefs in terms of two things: We can consider:

a) What those beliefs consist in;

b) How those beliefs have a material effect on the reproduction and / or production of social relationships and institutions

In the first case, philosophers of music would have a field-day; and have of course had many debates over what different beliefs about music consist it, for more than a couple of thousand years. However, from a sociological point of view, we could say that any discussion of what people's beliefs about music consist in – whether we are talking about the beliefs of philosophers, or the beliefs of passers-by outside the supermarket on a Saturday morning – any discussion of what people's beliefs about music consist in, will remain at the level of 'mere description' unless it proceeds to the second level. In other words, this concerns how those beliefs serve to reproduce or produce social groups and the opportunities and rewards available to social groups and the individuals within them.

To illustrate what I'm trying to say here, let us imagine a fictional piece of research in which the researchers go about asking music teachers the question: 'what do you mean when you use the term "musical ability"?' Various teachers give their different replies, which are then analysed in such a way that they can be grouped into categories. The researchers then present their findings as a collection of the various different categories of things that teachers mean by the term 'musical ability'. It could be quite interesting; for example lots of teachers might all say similar things about one aspect of musical ability; but differ greatly about another aspect, and so on. End of piece of research…!

But sociology does not stop there; it is not interested merely in what teachers or other people 'mean', or think they mean, or say they mean, when they for example, use the term, 'musical ability'. What people mean, or think they mean, or say they mean when they say 'musical ability' is merely a matter of how they *construe* musical ability. Rather, sociology in general, and the sociology of music education in particular, is interested not only in how people *construe*, in this case, musical ability; but how they *construct* musical ability through their actions in relation to social groups and social institutions, and the structure of opportunity for people to not only *acquire*, but also to *demonstrate* musical ability within the society. In other words, it goes further to ask: how does the meaning of the term 'musical ability' materially contribute to the reproduction and / or production of *actual* musical abilities themselves, or their lack; and of actual musical successes and failures, in various groups of musicians and music-learners in relation to various musical styles?

Of course, education and other teaching-and-learning practices are very important in those reproduction and / or production processes. By looking at a society's educational or other teaching-and-learning practices in music, we can discern, for e.g.:

> -which musical practices and the abilities required to practice them, and/or knowledge about them, are included in education;

-which are most highly rewarded by for example, high status educational qualifications;

-which are included in education, but given lower status;

-which are not included in education but exist outside educational institutions; and so on.

What we find will be bound to be linked in different ways to different styles of music.

Through examining all these educational and other teaching-and-learning music practices, their concomitant styles, and the various levels of importance and status these are given, we can see how overall groups within the society combine together, to *construct*, not merely construe, social institutions, not merely ideas; and how these institutions govern, not merely the reproduction of pre-existing musical practices, and the abilities and successes and failures that go with them, but also the production of new ones, as they interact with changing material resources and opportunities.

**The musical product: 'music itself'**

However there is something that has been left far behind in this discussion so far: the musical product, or 'music itself'. Many sociologists of music, and also many contemporary 'critical musicologists', feminist musicologists, philosophers of music and others today, wish to say that there is no such thing as 'music itself'. As already discussed in relation to sociologists of music; music, for many of them, is only whatever people say it is; and its meanings and its value are only whatever people say they are.

But I want to suggest something which may at first appear to be deeply 'unfashionable'. It is that the notion that music means *only* what people say it means, and is *only* as valuable as people say it is, is going a step too far. For music is not merely a

symptom of our musical practices and the meanings and values we attach to it, but it does have some independent existence – or autonomy – which enables it to act back on us. This level of autonomy is not unlike what the psychologist Gibson referred to in general as 'affordance', and which has been more recently applied to the field of music through the musicologist Allan Moore, the sociologist of music Tia De Nora, the music psychologist Eric Clarke amongst others**.** I'm not sure that they would be happy for me to link that term with the term 'autonomy', but in fact I can't see that there is any fundamental difference between the two concepts.

Both the concepts of autonomy, or 'affordance', in the context of my present argument, refer to music's capacity – that is, the capacity of 'music itself' – to *influence* our beliefs, values, feelings or behaviour. For example we can hypothesise the following – and if we wanted to, we could easily conduct an empirical experiment to see if our hypothesis will be borne out: Let us ask a primary-school teacher – in more or less any country that we care to choose where there are primary schools of some kind – let us ask him to play some fast, loud music with an explicit beat and a prominent percussion part to some children; and ask the children to dance to the music in whatever way they like. How will the children dance? We can hypothesis that they will jump around vigorously. If they are asked to dance to soft, slow string music, how will they dance? They are likely to glide about gracefully.

In this example, the musical product, or 'music itself', seems to be influencing the children's responses; or we can say that the music *affords* certain responses more than, or instead of, others. To that extent, then, the music does have a level of autonomy from our wishes and our actions; even if this level of autonomy can only ever be realised *within* particular social contexts.

One of the most difficult questions that confronts the sociology of music is how far people's responses to music are 'natural', and how far they are the result of learning,

socialisation, enculturation, or convention. For example the children in the hypothetical example just now are always-already socialised, or encultured, into appropriate or conventional responses. How do we know what is natural and what is learnt? I'm not going to give you an answer to that question – and indeed I believe there never will be a solid answer to that! But I will suggest, as a fundamental underlying proposition of what I believe to be a balanced sociology of music, that we should not shrink from employing the concept of 'music itself', or indeed from analysing the musical product itself, and bringing these into a conceptual relationship with all the other terms that we use. Otherwise, we will miss the very object that is at the centre of our field and that is the nub of everything that we purport to study.

Whereas Adorno's project was to do just that, that is, analyse music itself in relation to society, where he fell down was in the ambitious attempt to forge a macro-level correlation of music's properties with the properties of the society from which it emanated and / or in which it was disseminated. As I pointed out in *Music On Deaf Ears*, and was also pointed out by Tia De Nora in *Music In Everyday Life*, Adorno felt himself to be above undertaking detailed work into the processes of how music, its meaning and values, are constructed within the society; but in order to understand music sociologically, we do need to turn our attention to just those processes, and work from the micro-level outwards to the macro-level.

So to get back to my question: what do I mean by the 'sociology of music education'?

**A thumbnail sketch of the 'sociology of music education'**

Firstly, in relation to the sociology of music – without the word 'education' in there just yet, to me, work in the sociology of music can, does and *should* look at one or more of the

following four areas, at either or both the micro- and / or the macro-level. I'm sure you would want to add other areas:

(a) Social groups and socio-musical groups;

(b) Musical practices (production, distribution, reception);

(c) Musical beliefs, values and abilities, (as they are both construed and constructed by social groups and socio-musical groups through their musical beliefs and practices; and as they interconnect with musical abilities);

(d) 'Music itself' (however problematic a concept that is, in terms of what it is in some music that affords some responses, and in other music that affords other responses).

I believe that fundamentally, we music-sociologists need to at least bear all four areas in mind and attempt to contextualise our work within or across them all, as far as is reasonably possible; whilst of course wanting to focus mainly on one, or a portion of one of these at a time or in any one piece of work.

(At this point I am tempted to add just one short paragraph which wasn't in my original keynote: as Ruth Wright pointed out later in the conference, my speech did not address itself substantially to the sociology of education. She was quite right, I am focussing on the sociology of *music* and the sociology of *music education*, and rather leaving that third crucial part of the triangle, the sociology of *education*, to look after itself. However those who are familiar with the work of educational sociologists such as M. F. D. Young, Basil Bernstein, Bourdieu, Michael Apple and others – will be able to make the links between my suggestions here and the basic tenets of that field. These tenets are intrinsically wrapped up with concepts of reification, legitimation, and the role of education in social reproduction and production.)

When we come, then, to the sociology of music **education** and what is meant by it, we can perhaps suggest, in line with the four points a) to d) above, that: the classroom, instrumental studio, the bedroom, street and other teaching-and/or-learning environments:

(a) Involve teachers and/or learners from a variety of social and socio-musical groups;

(b) Provide *contexts* for musical practices (production, distribution, reception;

(c) Provide contexts for *construing* and *constructing* musical beliefs, values and abilities;

(d) Affect, and are affected by, the nature of 'music itself'.

In addition to all this, it's very important to say that sociologists in general do a type of work which has always lead them to question the ethical make-up of the societies they study; including whether the society is fair or just; whether it gives equality of opportunity and equality of outcome to all its members; whether it shares out its wealth and so on; and in asking if not, then why not; and if not, what can be done about it.

This brings me round to this conference and to the reasons why we're all here today. I have been talking so far at a level of abstraction, about what I personally think 'the sociology of music education' means; or how I *construe* it. Now, I wonder what the community of sociologists of music education mean by the term, and how they construe the term; and more significantly, what sociological work is actually going on in music education which contributes to the reproduction of existing musical beliefs, values, practices and abilities; and to the production of new ones? This sociological work is of course directly involved in *constructing* the sub-discipline of the sociology of music education, and may also be involved in influencing how music education is practiced in educational or other teaching-and-learning environments.

**A thumbnail sketch of the topics in this conference**

In order to get some idea of an answer to this question, I went through the abstracts of this conference. I am talking now rather informally and I by no means wish to give the impression that I have done a proper NVivo or AtlasT analysis of the Abstracts! Also I do realise that the Abstracts I was reading were the ones *submitted* to the conference and people may have changed their topics or focus since then. However, out of interest, I will share what I found. I did a quick and sketchy first-level cataloguing of the main terms which seemed to be the focus of more than one, and in most cases, quite a few Abstracts, and of various congruent terms that went along with them. The very informal results look something like the list below. The list shows each term followed by the number of times it was used in the Abstracts. (For words that have various endings, I have used an asterisk, e.g. 'teenage*', instead of writing out 'teenage, teenaged, teenager, teenagers' etc.)

*Social groups*

Class: 8

Gender: 10

Women: 9

Ethnic* / race: 7

Immigra*: 14

Diaspor*: 2

Adolescent* / teenage*: 9

Subcultur*: 2

*Educational institutions or other transmission contexts*

School*: 76

Universit* / higher education: 56

Classroom: 21

Instrument/vocal* [al / tuition / studio]: 14

Community: 48

Virtual [music / learning]: 7

Original* / Authentic*: 5

[General] cultural context*: 3

*Musical practices, i.e. ways of teaching / learning*

Teach: 87

Learn: 78

Formal: 26

Curricul: 24

Instruct*: 12

Pedagog: 17

Informal / aural: 11

*Musical practices*

Sing*: 19

Play* [instrument]: 7

Compose: 9

Improvise: 0

*Musical styles and related issues*

Classical [music*]: 3

Popular [music*]: 5

Jazz: 5

Folk [music]: 10

Tradition* [musical / aural / oral]: 9

World [music*]: 1

Multicultu / intercultu*: 14

*Belief systems/social constructionism*

[Social] constructi*: 23

Discourse / discursive: 15

Ideolog*: 2

*Ethical issues*

Equit* [able / ity ] / equality: 4

Just* [ice]: 5

Fair* [ness]: 3

Inclusion: 2

Cohesion: 1

*Important but miscellaneous terms (?)*

Identit*: 85

Agency: 5

Musicality / musical ability: 4

Policy: 9

Notice immediately above, the high number of mentions of 'identity' issues, and the low number concerning 'ability' – I wonder what is behind that? When it comes to research methods:

*Research methods / methodologies*

Qualitative: 7

Interview: 17

Narrative: 11

Grounded theory: 4

Ethno* [graphy / graphic / methodology]: 4

Social constructi*: 6

Case study: 5

Holistic research: 3

Incidentally:

Quantitative: 0

However, although the term itself didn't arise in the Abstracts that I analysed, there was in fact one paper offering a substantial analysis of quantitative data. More worryingly perhaps, and interestingly given the general concern with identity issues, there was also this result:

Globalis* / colonis* / imperialis*: 0

Localis*: 0

And interestingly:

Assess* [of musical ability]: 0

Those might be areas where new work in the sociology of music education could be done, perhaps. I will close with my final question:

**What's the point of doing research in the sociology of music education?**

I have been considering what I 'mean' by (or how I construe) the sociology of music education, and have then said a couple of things about what this group of people might mean by it. As I suggested earlier, there is a difference between 'construing' meaning and 'constructing' meaning. Researchers can easily go around asking people what they think things mean. But one of the points of sociology is surely to go one step further and investigate how those meanings translate into material practices; that is, how they do not remain at the level of 'mere' belief or what people *construe*, but how they contribute to the actual *construction* of not only beliefs, and values but also propensities, such as in our case, musical abilities; and very importantly, how these propensities relate to the opportunities,

rewards and status that are available to different social groups and individuals within those groups, in relation to structures of power and wealth.

There is an ethical dimension to many abstracts in this conference. Whether or not they used the specific words I put up earlier, such as 'equality' and so on, most of the abstracts have as their wish, the aim to improve things – all research fundamentally has that – but in our case it is often to improve musical opportunities for under-represented or needy social groups, and/or to improve the recognition of and respect in which the music of such groups is held within the education system and in society generally. So sociologists of music education are, and should be, interested in actual teaching and learning practices: we need to think hard about how music is taught and learned in various contexts, not just educational institutions; and whether it is a) possible and b) worthwhile trying to bring a broader range of teaching and learning practices into broader use within a system of greater equalities of opportunity. Such an aim I also found reflected in the Abstracts.

As the sociologist of education M. F. D. Young and the sociologist of music education Graham Vulliamy suggested a long time ago, if schools can turn categories and values upside down, or around, this would result in 'a massive redistribution of the labels educational 'success' and 'failure'. There was a utopian angle to that hope, perhaps. But I believe it is not too much to think that our work as sociologists of music education may in some small ways bring about a greater level of equality through the redistribution of musical beliefs, values, knowledge, abilities and opportunities; so as to enhance the musical involvement, and strengthen the musical identities of a broader swathe of people than in the past; and help to break down some national, religious, gender, class, ethnic, racial and cultural barriers and inequalities.

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# Keynote Paper 2: Music Education and Narratives of Social Cohesion: From National Melting Pot to Global Community

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*Abstract*

The goal of integrating people from diverse cultural backgrounds into a cohesive society has been a long-standing goal of Western educational systems. Various ideologies to integrate immigrants into society were advanced in order to achieve this goal--from assimilation and cultural pluralism to multiculturalism and globalization. In turn, each of these ideologies has influenced the direction of music education. In this paper, I provide perspectives on social cohesion and education, illustrating how ideologies were used to promote socially cohesive societies. I explore how the construction of narrative—and music as a form of narrative—is important in the process of adapting to a new culture. From there, I examine community as a metaphor and narrative for music education in the twenty first century. Finally, I apply the concept of community to propose a view of music education as a space of hospitality and possibility that can contribute to building a socially cohesive society.

Social dimensions of music education have been neglected until recent decades. The international symposium in music education series which began at the University of Oklahoma in 1995 has been a catalyst for what we might call the 'sociological turn' in music education. It is wonderful to see the efforts of early leaders—Hildegard Froehlich, Roger Rideout and the late Steve Paul—generate interest in and commitment to the value of sociological perspectives in music education. Now we gather here in Europe for the first time, and in a sense it is an intellectual homecoming since sociology and social theory have their roots in continental Europe.

When I set out to write this paper, I was keenly aware that I wanted to address a topic that is sociological in nature, international in scope, and one that has particular relevance here in Ireland. I kept coming back to the experience of living 'between worlds', something that I have experienced personally for over twenty years as I travelled back and forth between the United States and Ireland, those worlds that are separated geographically by a vast ocean that has been well traversed over the years. I am reminded of Micheál Ó Súilleabháin's address at the last sociology conference in St. John's in 2007, 'A Thread Across the Ocean', in which he described the great transatlantic cable laid down in 1866 between the continents, but also the emotional and intellectual ties between St. John's and Ireland (2008, p. 9). Those ties between the continents have become closer ever the years.

My paper is somewhat autobiographical as I explore the age-old phenomenon of immigration and how it has shaped and continues to shape social narratives within music education. Living in two countries for over twenty years has meant a constant renegotiation of national identities, changing relationships with the home country and the adopted one, and reassessment of values in keeping with the dynamic nature of culture and the fast-paced march of globalization in this particular period. I gained a few insights from reflecting on this personal experience of migration and dislocation. First, each emigrant's story is a unique one,

as unique as the circumstances that cause them to uproot or be uprooted and leave home; second, music is often central to the process of cultural relocation—a praxis of living out who we are as border people, a means of maintaining continuity with the past by drawing on music of the home culture, and a way to make sense of life in the adopted country by participating in its musical cultures.

Engagement with music can be incredibly powerful and profoundly significant in positioning oneself in new political and cultural landscapes and filling the spaces between the old and familiar and the new and the distant worlds. Indeed there are elements of the migrant experience in each person's life, similar to Hildegard Froehlich's observation that we are all immigrants. We do not need to cross a political boundary and settle in a new country to encounter cultural difference, experience hegemony, or feel marginalized and disenfranchised.

In a sense, we all live in multiple worlds as part of everyday life and we may experience being 'Other' in certain contexts. In postmodern discourse, this experience is seen to occur not only at the level of ethnicity and race but also in relation to social class, gender, disability, sexual orientation, generation, political affiliation, among others. For the purpose of this presentation, I am keeping this more expansive definition of 'Other' in mind while focusing on the experience of immigrants as 'Other', exploring how music education can provide a doorway for them that leads into a space of hospitality and possibility. This kind of doorway is modeled here in Limerick in the work of *Doras Luimní* (trans. from the Irish as 'door of Limerick'), a group of concerned people who have come together to welcome and provide support for refugees.

Ireland has a long history of emigration and an even longer history of occupation by foreigners, from Celts to Vikings, Normans to British. But the recent influx of immigrants is unique and central to discussions of education and social and cultural life in Ireland today. For

example, the 2008/2009 Seamus Heaney Lecture Series explored questions of culture and identity in contemporary Ireland. A new interdisciplinary journal based in Irish universities titled, *Translocations: Migration and Social Change,* presents 'an intersecting set of perspectives that create [*sic*] the terrain on which we choose to situate ourselves' [Available http://www.translocations.ie Accessed 15 June 2009]. And an upcoming special issue of the journal *Irish Educational Studies* is devoted to the theme of 'Race, Migration and Education.' The editor of that journal writes: 'Education is central to processes of production and (re) production in society and should be at the core of any discussion about immigration and the development of multicultural and socially just societies.' [Available http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/cfp/riescfp.pdf Accessed 15 June 2009]

The topic of immigration and cultural diversity in education has been at the core of US education for over a century, and in the UK since the 1960s; now it has surfaced as centrally important to Irish education and society. In what follows, I examine issues of music, education, and migration through the lens of social cohesion and provide some direction for music education. First, I provide some perspectives on social cohesion and education; that is followed by an historical overview to show how metaphors were used to promote socially cohesive societies and how music education contributed to that goal. Then I explore how narrative—and music as a form of narrative—is especially important in the process of adapting to a new culture. From there, I examine community as a metaphor and narrative for music education in the twenty first century. Finally, I apply the concept of community to propose a view of music education as a space of hospitality and possibility.

## Perspectives on social cohesion and education

Socio-political ideologies based on theories of assimilation, cultural pluralism, multiculturalism, and interculturalism aimed at promoting social cohesion through education. Such ideologies were developed primarily in response to migration and demographic change. The term 'social cohesion' has an expansive literature and contested meanings, starting with Émile Durkheim, the father of educational sociology, who wrote in the early 20th century:

> Society can survive only if there exists among its members a sufficient degree of homogeneity; education perpetuates and reinforces this homogeneity by fixing in the child, from the beginning, the essential similarities that social life demands.
>
> (Durkheim, trans. Giddens 1972, p. 203)

Durkheim's functionalist view of social cohesion was aimed at achieving social equilibrium. The great pragmatist, George Herbert Mead, in his landmark book published in 1934, *Mind, Self and Society*, observed that societies are complex and any explanation of social cohesion needs to take into account the 'interlocking interdependence of human individuals upon one another within the given organized social life-process in which they are all involved is becoming more and more intricate and closely knit and highly organized as human social evolution proceeds on its course' (p. 310). He compares the relatively loose and disintegrated social organization of feudal times with the relatively tight and integrated social organization of nationalism and points to 'some form of international civilization' (p. 310).

Mead's view emphasizes the complexity of social cohesion and the importance of approaching it not as a simple dichotomous or hierarchical social process but rather as a continuum of efforts that variously achieve a balance between homogeneity and diversity—from highly cohesive nations seeking to achieve a mono-cultural society, to nations such as

the US which are founded on diversity, and to socially cohesive communities within more loosely structured political arrangements.

**Social cohesion and music in education**

As sociologists of music education, looking to the past can provide us with insights that are vital to understanding contemporary social ideologies. In order to focus the vast topic of education and social cohesion, I have chosen metaphors as a way to capture the essences of ideological thinking. Geneva Gay (2003) says that we use metaphors in constructing our narratives to help convey feelings, beliefs, and values (p. 7). Taking Gay's idea, let us go back in time, in fact just one century to find the first dominant metaphor of social cohesion that impacted educational thinking in the US, that is, the melting pot.

*Assimilation.* This year is the centenary of the publication of the play *The Melting Pot* by English playwright Israel Zangwill. The play was first produced in Chicago in October, 1908 and again in Broadway in September, 1909. The play presented a utopian vision of America as a crucible that blended all nationalities and races into a new American people, interethnic and interracial (Gans, in Jacoby, 2004, p. 33). The use of melting pot metaphor went back to the nineteenth century with images appearing in popular magazines. The metaphor aligned well with the political ideology of the time and caught the imagination of the American people. The image became more popular as politicians advanced the ideology of Americanization, *E pluribus unum*, promoting unity through the development of common Anglo-Saxon values.

In advancing the social ideal of Americanization, all immigrants became nationalized through learning the language, participating in national holidays and celebrations, attending

public schools, and learning the values of citizenship. In public-school music education, as Terese Volk points out in her book, *Music, Education and Multiculturalism*, music was seen as an activity that could unite people of different ethnic backgrounds, social classes, religious beliefs through singing and playing instruments together, thus instilling ideals of American nationality. The melting pot theory sought to assimilate and to maintain a social equilibrium in the face of unprecedented immigration. In that sense, it was closely aligned to functionalist social theory.

In that same period in the early 1900s, Ireland was a country of diverse religious denominations (Protestant, Catholic, Presbyterian, Quaker) and various socio political groups—native Irish, Anglo-Irish, British landed gentry, and minority groups. The driving political force for independence from Britain was coming from cultural nationalists who promoted Irish language, songs, and literature to build momentum for gaining political independence. When independence was achieved, that diversity was not acknowledged as an ideology of political and cultural assimilation was used to build the national fibre. Song repertoire in Irish primary schools—Irish language songs, historical ballads, and hymns passed on vital information to build a nation based on native language and culture and Catholicism. Although drawing on two quite different cultural contexts, a melting pot theory was the underpinning ideology in both efforts to create sociopolitical unity, one based on Americanizing immigrants and making good citizens, the other on advancing a particular definition of Irishness that did not accommodate diverse sub-cultural groups. The goal in both cases was to build a strong national identity, and music education was a servant in realizing that goal.

In the same time period in the early twentieth century, a counter theory of cultural pluralism was advocated by philosopher Horace Kallen and made public in an article in 1915 titled ‘Democracy versus the Melting Pot.’ The theory advocated an alternative route to

achieving social cohesion out of diversity. Kallen likened cultural pluralism to a symphony orchestra where the different ethnic groups played different instruments and out of the diversity, harmony was created. In a letter to Kallen, John Dewey endorsed his idea, with the condition that 'we really get a symphony and not a lot of different instruments playing simultaneously.' He continued: 'I never did care for the melting pot metaphor, but genuine assimilation to one another—not to Anglo-Saxondom—seems to be essential to an American' (Letter to Kallen, 31 March 1915, in Eisle, 1983, p. 151) While Dewey rejected the melting pot metaphor as such, he did not turn his back on the notion of assimilation. He wanted to see 'genuine assimilation to one another'. One interpretation of that statement might be that music educators create an environment that not only welcomes and tolerates ethnic diversity but also helps students to explore difference and communicate about difference with the goal of developing empathy and mutual understanding. Dewey wanted the kind of dialogue and individual reflection that we associate with conflict theory and critical pedagogy, a social ideal that would resurface later.

In the early decades of the twentieth century, music as a school subject applied the melting pot theory and music teachers did their part to assimilate immigrants through singing patriotic songs, folk songs of various western European countries beyond the German canon which dominated school music up to that point, school pageants and festivals (Volk, 1998, pp. 40-44). 'American Unity through Music' was a dominant theme during World War II when the Americas consolidated their relations in the face of hostility from abroad.

The music education profession came up with its own response to the melting pot theory in the powerful metaphor of music as an international language. This became popular during World War I and lasted into the 1960s; in fact, it is still used in some contexts to describe the ways in which music can unite peoples of different nations and ethnicities in the name of peace and fraternity. In this context, music is seen to transcend national boundaries

and create unity among nations. Grounded in this belief, the International Society for Music Education (ISME) was founded in 1953 in the aftermath of World War II with the aim of bringing music educators together to build international friendship through music.

*Cultural pluralism.* Metaphors that projected music as transcending cultural differences and as building international harmony began to fall out of favour with the rise of multiculturalism and identity politics in the transformative and tumultuous decade of the 1960s. The notion that universal meanings were somehow embedded in music was rejected and the cultural significances and contextual meanings of music took centre stage. New metaphors such as mosaic, patchwork quilt, and salad bowl took the place of the melting pot to visualize the complex cultural make up of nations and the dynamic nature of music cultures. According to this view, immigrants retain and value their heritage and maintain a high visibility as part of the national cultural mosaic. Perhaps the most powerful image of all, one that is associated more with interculturalism than multiculturalism, is the kaleidoscope. It captures the dynamic and ever-changing relationships between individuals, social and cultural groups, and nations in a globalized world. It implies social interaction and ultimately builds social identity, a foundation of all human identities (Jenkins, 2008).

In these images of cultural diversity, there are connotations of different textures and colours and nuanced richness that reflect the multi-vocal, multi-musical foundations of U.S. society. In varying degrees, school music programmes now reflect what these metaphors stand for. This is evident in music textbooks, arrangements for choir, band, and orchestra, availability of musical instruments from all over the world, professional development around world music, and a body of research on multicultural music education. Provision of diverse materials is an important step, but it is simply the beginning of the journey. It tells us little about how children and youth and teachers experience the curriculum built on such materials—how the immigrant is welcomed into the community, how his culture is woven

into the curriculum, who listens to her voice, who hears his music, what is the quality of the teaching environment and the pedagogical encounter? What doors are opened? What possibilities (musical and otherwise) can he imagine beyond the threshold?

*Globalization*. As one of the dominant processes of our time, globalisation, coupled with new waves of global migration, is testing assumptions and prompting new questions about the role of education in integrating immigrants into society. Peadar Kirby ('Globalization and Identity: Reflections from the Irish Experience,' 2009) argues that the advent of globalization has brought identity to the fore and asks: 'Where is the basis for fashioning the community?' Referring to the same phenomenon, James Banks (2009) believes that education should be helping students to develop identities and to function in cultural, national, and global communities.

In recent literature we find a new discourse of social cohesion with connotations of assimilation and a refocus on nationalism, aligned with contemporary values and social realities. Entwistle (1999/2000, p.14) struggles with the two dominant models of social cohesion of the 20th century—assimilation and cultural pluralism—and concludes that perhaps neither metaphor is suited to multicultural societies. Instead, he argues, we should engage in 'a detailed discussion of what a healthy, multicultural society needs in order to ensure both justice for the individual immigrant and the necessary social cohesion for citizens to feel connected to each other as contributors to the common good.' Entwistle is not alone is voicing the need for a new metaphor, a new model.

Some scholars are questioning the limits of multiculturalism as a national ideology and some are even returning to the melting pot idea but with a new lens in light of contemporary society. Jacoby (2004) writes that we may need a new understanding of assimilation:

> … a definition that makes sense today, in an era of globalization, the internet, identity politics…. Just what kind of assimilation is taking place today? What is possible? What is desirable? And how can we reframe the melting-pot vision to make it work for a cosmopolitan, twenty-first century America? (Jacoby, 2004, pp.4-5)

Jacoby argues that people are hungering for a larger, shared narrative that … provides an understanding of what holds us all together as Americans, and one might reasonably extend that to other nations too (p. 4). He says that assimilation is about 'finding a sustainable balance between what makes us different and what we have in common' (p. 15).

Reports from European countries, Canada, and Australia indicate that there is a parallel movement to revisit multiculturalism in the context of nationality and national identity. James Banks (2009), the great proponent of multiculturalism, recently reported that citizenship education is being used in nations such as Australia, Canada, and the UK to promote a new form of assimilation called 'social cohesion', originating in concerns about the fracturing of national identity and the maintenance of national unity (p. 3). These concerns are in part in reaction to global immigration and increasing diversity in nation-states which is forcing nations to rethink how they can develop civic communities that incorporate the diversity of people and yet have an overarching set of values, ideas and goals (pp. 306-08). Furthermore, Peadar Kirby (2009) argues that globalization is undermining the centrality of the place of the nation-state. That causes him to ask – if not the nation, what binds us together? What are the human bonds that unite us? He sees social cohesion (in Ireland at least) as a process that is happening more at the local, particularistic level. There is evidence of grass roots responses to cultural diversity. For example, a multicultural festival in Ardara, Co. Donegal titled *The Melting Pot* was established recently, using the arts to celebrate and

perform diversity. The festival website describes the event as celebrating 'many of the ethnic cultures in the area as well as others from around the globe' (http://www.ardarameltingpot.com Accessed 27 June 2009).

With these perspectives in mind, what kinds of educational communities align well with global realities and migration trends? What narratives do we seek to build around those contexts of transmission? What repertoire of stories will build local, national and global identities that Banks advocates?

**Narrative as a cultural mediator**

Bruner (1996) claims that 'the importance of narrative for the cohesion of a culture is as great, very likely, as it is in structuring an individual life' (p. 40). It is through its narrative, he writes, that 'a culture provides models of identity and agency to its members' (p. xiv). It is not easy, he says, 'to help a ten-year-old create a story that includes him in the world beyond his family and neighborhood, having been transplanted from Vietnam to the San Fernando Valley, from Algeria to Lyons [*sic*], from Anatolia to Dresden' (p. 41), and I might add from Nigeria to Limerick, or from Brazil to Gort.

Whether narrative is expressed and embodied in an image, myth, folk song, story, piece of music, dance or custom, by the power of imagination narratives can serve to bring the pieces of one's life together. As we tell and write stories, we can weave the threads of ourselves into a whole; similarly, as we make and create and listen to music, we can weave the soundscapes of our past and present together. It is an act of synthesis. In the process of musical engagement, we tell ourselves a story and form relationships, as Christopher Small (1998) expresses so well in his book *Musicking*: 'There is a sense in which all musicking can

be thought of as a process of storytelling, in which we tell ourselves a story about our relationships' (p. 139). Maxine Greene (1995) believes that encounters with the arts help us 'to cross the empty spaces between ourselves and those we teachers have called 'other' over the years', (p. 3) and it is, she says, above all, 'what makes empathy possible and what *can* bring severed parts together, … [to] create wholes' (p. 38).

By participating in the codes of a culture through music making, an immigrant is more likely to feel empowered to participate in musically meaningful ways that exercise agency and that bring her in touch with a group's communal ways. I turn to community as a key concept for constructing and living out narratives, forming a democratic ideal of social cohesion, and for developing local, national/multinational, and global identities in a place of learning and enculturation.

**Gathering around community: Toward a democratic narrative of social cohesion**

The concept of community came into use in social science and music education around the same time that the melting pot image gained popularity in the teens of the twentieth century. What did it mean then and how is the concept useful to us now? The literature on community is extensive and its meanings are varied. Cohen (1985) speaks to the power of community when he describes it as 'a symbolic construction, resource and repository of meaning, and a referent of one's identity' (p. 118). Participation in community can be concrete and at the local level, associated with place and geographical area. It can engender feelings of attachment, belonging and commitment in those who are members. It implies social interaction, whether face to face or in cyberspace. It contains the real and the imaginary, as Benedict Anderson (2006) put it in his description of nations as imagined communities.

Community then, is a multifaceted concept and suited to exploring ways of building social cohesion in diverse groups. At the same time, one must be aware of the potential limitations of communities as social structures. Nel Noddings (in Jorgensen, 2003, p. 15) points out that communities can have, 'tendencies toward parochialism, conformity, exclusion, assimilation, distrust (or hatred) of outsiders, and coercion.' Estelle Jorgensen (2003), who has written extensively on community, added that 'despite educators' best efforts to create and sustain dialogue and an open-ended community…. other forces invariably contradict, countermand, or crush these efforts' (p. 15).

The concept of community has become popular in the arts and education today. The Community Music movement which began in the UK in the 1970s has grown as an academic field, evident in the development of degree programme offerings and the founding of a scholarly journal, the *International Journal of Community Music.* In general education, the notion of classrooms as communities of practice resonates for practitioners and researchers alike, and ideas of learning communities, school as community and community in the school are themes that have dominated educational literature since the 1990s.

Finally, community can be a common denominator uniting the goals of school music and other institutional contexts of music education. The music educator, as Hildegard Froehlich (2007) points out, can be a bridge builder between different communities—school communities, music communities, political communities (p. 43). So what might we envision for relationships between music education and community?

## Community in the making: Music education creates spaces of hospitality and worlds of possibility

In this final part of the paper, I offer a view of music education that includes a place for the outsider (the immigrant, in this case) in our communities of music making and that assists in the process of relocation and integration. I have identified openings in music education, doorways into spaces of possibility that I believe will support the development of citizens who are engaged locally, attached nationally, and conscious of global influences.

### Music education can open the door of hospitality and nurture the idea of home

Music informs our sense of place (Stokes, 1994), and when there is dislocation (as in immigration), participation in music can play a powerful role in relocating or re-embedding ourselves. He continues: 'The musical event… evokes and organizes collective memories and present experiences of place with an intensity, power and simplicity unmatched by any other social activity' (p. 3). There are abundant opportunities in music education to welcome the outsider by opening the door of hospitality in the act of music making. In his lecture on 'The Poetics of the Stranger', Irish philosopher Richard Kearney (2009) presents hospitality as an act of translation and transformation that involves taking risks related to interaction and the building of relationships between host and stranger. Small (1998) points out that the gestures of musicking can articulate many kinds of relationship at once, opening the possibility of crossing over and negotiating past and present, places, people, attachments, and experiences. Music making, then, is a space for building relationships between self and other, and living out one's multiple national and cultural identities, evidenced in the following case study.

Helen Phelan (2008) organized a community-based choir made up of women from the asylum seeking community in Limerick and women from the traveler community, with the intention of supporting music native to the two groups and opening each group to the music of the other group. She found that participants chose instead to select pieces which reflected their sense of the other community. In the end, Phelan writes, it was not easy to decipher which songs came from which group and both groups sang them with equal ownership. Findings from this case study are a reminder of the power of music making in generating a community and the notion of 'musical affordances' that Lucy Green shared in her paper, that is, the possible meanings that a musical event affords.

Emphasis on praxis-based approaches to music education in the last two decades aligns well with the ongoing work of building socially cohesive communities. Recently, I held a world music workshop at the University of Michigan in which students performed music from traditions unfamiliar to them—Mexican mariachi, Balinese gamelan and Japanese koto. The experience illuminated the transformational nature of performance and the value of tradition bearers in introducing the music of an unfamiliar culture. Creative music making is another medium for creating a transformational space in music education. This is borne out in the study reported in Bruce Carter and Adria Hoffman's paper where students were afforded an opportunity to create through composition activities, generating an inclusive space for those who may perceive themselves as excluded in school and society.

**Music educators can provide space for different voices to be heard**

The hoped for community, Maxine Greene (1995) says, is 'a community attentive to difference, open to the idea of plurality' (p. 167). Classrooms, she writes, 'ought to pulsate with multiple conceptions of what it is to be human and alive' (p. 43). Greene's ideal

community is one to which we aspire as educators. The norms of classroom life in mass education systems, however, are based on a nineteenth-century industrial model founded on homogeneity of content, of pedagogy, of outcome, regardless of the demographic and socio-economic makeup of students and school communities. So the task of living out the values of heterogeneity is immense since we have inherited a system based on a radically different educational vision. In a sense we are privileged to be transmitting a subject that models diverse voices and functions, from local musical accents to cross cultural fusions. Presenting diverse musics is but one part of the task; creating an environment that models the values of diversity is the more fundamental mission, one that involves moral and ethical considerations. As Geneva Gay (2003) puts it: 'Multicultural education, like other kinds of teaching, is a moral enterprise that requires deep personal engagement, commitment, advocacy, and agency from those who participate fully and genuinely in the enterprise' (p. 6).

The qualitative nature of the classroom learning environment becomes crucially important if we put ethical considerations at the core—social justice, human rights, inclusiveness. I believe that students are ready to engage with music in such an environment of democratic ideals and ethical standards, where their social consciousness is activated and they seek ways to connect the empowering nature of music with the plight of the other, whether that is immigrant, those who live in fear of living out their true selves in public spaces, or those whose indigenous values are not acknowledged as worthy in the mainstream. In the end, we have no choice but to follow our social consciousness and seek to keep the doors to democracy and social justice open. As American poet Walt Whitman reminds us in 'Song of the Broad-Axe,' from *Leaves of Grass* (1900):

The shapes arise!

Shapes of doors giving many exits and entrances,…

Shapes of Democracy total, result of centuries

Shapes ever projecting other shapes.

**Music education can help students locate themselves within the national community**

National groups express their nationhood through various symbols, events, holidays, anthems, emblems, and cultural festivals. In educational settings, participation in such performances and narratives seeks to develop in students' minds the landscapes of that imagined community called the nation as well as the real community in which nationhood is expressed. Building a sense of the nation through its unique musical heritage is a sound one when framed in this way, since national identity is a strong part of one's sense of self; for immigrants, it involves expanding their sense of national identity from: 'I'm Mexican' to 'I'm Mexican and American', or, 'I'm Polish' to 'I'm Polish and Irish'.

But as we saw from earlier examples, the inclusion of national agendas in music education does not always have the effect of expanding students' sense of themselves, but rather narrowing it. When music education is focused on advancing the idea of nation, national security or national pride, curriculum change sometimes results in an inward-looking vision of music education or the promotion of a narrow, exclusionist version of national identity. Then national unity is founded on hegemonic principles and closes off rather than opens up the possibility for dialogue with other groups and nations.

John Mueller's idea of 'social heritage' (1958) is helpful in resolving this point. Writing in 1958, possibly the first essay bridging music education and sociology, he argued that social heritage is extremely abundant, complex, and heterogeneous, and even

inharmonious in scope. For an immigrant child to know that the social heritage of their adopted country is itself diverse is likely to create a depth perception of the culture and provide access to the creative impulses and aesthetic values of the nation through time. An intriguing feature of music as social heritage is that each generation is motivated to go back into some aspect of its musical heritage and re-create it in the context of contemporary culture—for example, Enya's resurrection of old Irish melodies and Latin hymns set to the sounds of new age music, native American groups who have brought the haunting melodies of their tribes into Christian rock and other popular genres, or the Silk Road project headed by Yo-Yo Ma that traveled along the ancient trade route through the middle east and Asia to gather the pieces of the musical past and present them in light of our times.

The elements of social cohesion evident in approaching the nation as a musical and cultural reservoir can be less politically motivated and more focused on plumbing the depths of a nation's musical resources and accessing the spiritual wisdom of ancestors.

**Music education can develop a global consciousness**

As already pointed out, the negative impact of globalization is often highlighted over its benefits and possibilities. While it is important to acknowledge such impact, we cannot ignore the global movement of peoples (175 million people living outside their original homelands in 2000 compared to 33 million in 1910) (Banks, 2009), and the popular metaphor of the world as a global village. Music as a cultural phenomenon is already functioning as part of that global community. Musicians are collaborating across the world, being influenced by sounds and genres from across the globe, resulting in musical fusions and blended genres. The formal institutions of music education are slowly acknowledging the need to reflect the diversity of

musical practices in their communities. Bernadette Colley's paper illustrated how that is happening in the area of alternative instrumental ensembles.

Here again, immigrant students can be an asset to a community seeking to expand its musical horizons. With their extended families, they bring their world view, culture and music to the community. By the very act of moving from one country to another, they have begun the journey toward global citizenship. Their task (or one of them) is to re-locate and embed themselves in a new community and expand their national identity. For music educators and instructional leaders, the inclusion of local, national and global musics is key to curriculum development in the twenty first century. The homogenizing influence of globalization imposed from above can be balanced by the creation of a grass roots experience of intercultural dialogue through music making. Then immigrant cultures are seen less as challenges to their host countries and more as contributing social and cultural riches to local communities.

**Closing Remarks**

What is to be made of this journey through time and across cultures? How can the many threads be woven together to inform a sociological view of music education in our time and in times to come? Clearly, ideologies of social cohesion have underpinned music education narratives and practices during the last century. From the perspective of sociological theory, some were aligned with functionalist theories of education while others embodied the tensions and complexities of conflict and interaction theories. As we look beyond the post-nationalist era, what is the next social ideal, the next vision of social cohesion that will underpin our educational endeavours? Nieto (2009) posits that accommodating diversity in education is 'a

project of hope in the human spirit and hope in the promise of education to improve the lives of people both in the United States and around the globe' (p. 90).

Looking at music education through these macro lenses provides us a viewing point, perhaps not one that a music teacher has in mind as she steps on the podium or sits in a circle to teach a song to first class. Is not that one of the reasons we are here, to bring awareness to, connect with, and enlighten the micro worlds of classrooms and schools through an understanding of the macro forces that shape learning communities. But not to stop there—to mediate the macro socio-political forces and weave alternative narratives out of the threads of cultures in our midst, locally.

That is a task of enormous proportions, lived out in spaces of music making that we aspire to call hospitable and full of hope—full of hope, but at all times vulnerable and fragile. I would like to end with a verse from a poem by Irish poet Micheal O' Siadhail titled 'Dance' from his collection *A Fragile City* (1999). It captures for me how participation in music and dance can facilitate communication and at the same time point to the fragility of the threads that join us and the need for a hospitable learning space for the 'Other'.

*Openness. Again and again to realign.*
*Another face and the moves must begin*
*Anew. And we unfold into our design.*
*I want to dance for ever. A veil*
*Shakes between now-ness and infinity.*
*Touch of hands. Communal and frail.*
*Our courtesies weave a fragile city.* (Used by permission)

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# ‘Mine’ and ‘other’: Cultural policy in the field of Music Education

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*Abstract*
Multiculturalism is a central issue of educational policies for the western countries, which have now become very multicultural themselves. The presence of various dissimilar groups with their own cultural identities poses a number of questions regarding ways of their assimilation in the educational system and the teaching approaches that consider interaction and reciprocation with the dominant cultural group. Music education plays a significant role in the acquisition and re-enforcement of national identity, the adaptation in wider localities, the transmission of moral and cultural values, meeting and recognising the *Other.* As a result, a number of research studies have been carried out on the subject of educational application of music materials from around the world. Based on the view that music should be placed within the cultural framework that determines values, structures and attitudes and the notion that learning about our own musical culture can be achieved through learning the musical cultures of others, we are here presenting the trends prevailing in Greek music education. Proposing a model of intervention for dealing with learning and social difficulties in collaboration with the Centre for Research and Application of School Psychology (Department of Psychology, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens), we are going to examine teaching approaches to multiculturalism and music education.

## Setting the scene

Over the past few decades, music teachers have faced questions about whose music should be studied in classrooms and who has the right to make such decisions. Clearly, music education, which centers almost exclusively on Western art music, has become a thing of the past, and is common now to include many types of music in the curriculum. One way of seeing music education is to think of it as the study of music as a series of sound and silences. Another way is to define it as cultural studies – that is, a subject concerned with uncovering the differences and power relationships among groups of people and their cultures.

One consequence of a cultural studies approach to the music curriculum is that music education is brought into areas of political debate, something that not all music educators are familiar with, even thought it brings the music curriculum closer to the realities of everyday life – realities that include poverty, ownership and social justice. This connection with everyday life is one reason why it is important for music educators to consider a cultural – studies perspective in music education.

History shows that immigration is a social phenomenon, which has been around since the time of Homo Sapiens and has never been regarded as an extraordinary one. Regardless of its old age, this phenomenon has never been so high on the agenda of governmental policies. Groups of people tend to separate themselves from others. My group has a common feeling, the foreign group is ‘the other’. Therefore, groups of different ethnicities seem to be keeping themselves apart from the national culture of the host country. Being a member of one’s own group provides members with a sense of security and a chance for identifying oneself with certain attitudes and symbols (flags, emblems and so on), thus ensuring a sense of belonging. Faith in our own difference leads the foreign being regarded as a threat. The better defined the borders are between groups the more prejudiced their members become against the members

of any other group. People get trapped in what they believe to be in agreement with what is considered their own, thus maintaining an intolerance of any other (Adorno, 1968).

Understanding the foreign is an essential prerequisite for understand ‘mine’. This means reviewing and enlarging one’s own identity, which cannot be imposed, but formed only through communication and interaction.

In order to cross the borders of a national or solely European perspective, the principle of multiculturalism has to be put into use. Thus, processing issues which touch upon cohabitation of nations through aesthetic education can provide students with new possibilities for a critical response towards any factor that tends to marginalize parts of the population or aims at their complete disappearance. At the same time ways of examining powers that contribute to a balance and fair system can be introduced.

**Music Education and Culture: the multicultural solution**

Globalisation has direct and indirect effects in the function of modern societies and educational systems as it affects a number of fields, such as immigrations, cultural integration and changes in educational policies and international economy. As a social vision it requires an ‘opening to all’ without jeopardising cultural diversity and with education empowered as an instrument for understanding and accepting diversity.

Transferred to education, multiculturalism ideally requires the use of teaching recourses from all cultures, acceptance of culturally derived responses to teaching and learning situations and acknowledgment that teaching and learning styles differ from culture to culture. In music education, however, the use of music from wide-ranging sources without acknowledging the cultural implications of music has resulted in a specific application of

multiculturalism. What many music educators assume that music education already sufficiently addresses cultural issues focus on:

- the types of music studied widening to include music from all styles, periods and genres (popular music, jazz).
- the roles of music in specific settings (e.g. to accompany a calendar event, to relate historical events, to assist with work), thinking that studying music in this manner sufficiently addressed culture.
- The desirable attribute of society to aid in the development of multiculturalism

Curriculum documents, however, typically state that the purpose of studying music from a range of cultures is to develop a comprehensive understanding of how music works as a system of manipulated sounds.

Support for a tolerance of pluralism and comprehension of culture as a factor influencing contemporary life, has not been a clear expectation of the multicultural focus of music education. This is why pluralism – not only music, expectations of the music curriculum and methods of delivering teaching – thus becomes an essential outcome of and rational for the music curriculum. How can teachers assist in questioning current cultural biases in the music curriculum? Here are some suggestions by:

- Adopting teaching methods that correspond to the music being studied
- Becoming aware of and teach from the aesthetic positions of each music being studied
- Identifying received teaching methods as derided from Western thinking and seeking out other methods, when appropriate

**Multiculturalism as part of International Education Policy**

Today more than ever before, international organizations such as Unesco are faced with the challenge of adopting strategies and policies which will work towards providing solutions.

The reality of a unified Europe, constantly influenced by international developments, the advancement of educational technology and the formation of new values (Tedesco, 1995; Borchardt Klaus-Dieter, 1995), inevitably leads to a number of necessary actions such as the following:

- Re-training educators
- Improvement in the management and supervision of schools
- Introducing revision examinations and doing away with fruitless parrot-fashion learning
- Modernisation of curricula
- Introduction of computer technology to all levels of education
- Writing and publishing new school books and establishing new school activities

The orientation of educational policy seems to be clear when considering that the citizens of Europe have to be heading for a life in a Europe without borders, where they will be able to move freely in all countries, live, work and co-operate with citizens of other countries. Therefore, the multicultural dimension of education comes afore involving issues such as language, history and culture and an effort to find those characteristics than unite the peoples and showing respect of difference as well as strengthening each people's historic memory. Multicultural education has to enable dissemination of ideas and reflection on every country's experience in education and culture. Values such as defending human rights, respect for tradition and identity, freedom, democracy, protection of the environment and struggle for

international peace create new agendas for education aiming at the development of personality, the re-enforcement of respect to human rights and the different cultures (Perotti, 1994).

The above are clearly stated in the texts of the UNESCO International Conventions on Education in Geneva (1992) and on Culture in Mexico (1982). Both conventions made it clear that within the material, emotional and spiritual characteristics of every society there are traditions, ways of living, attitudes, arts and value systems that touch upon human rights. Moreover, the term Popular of Folk Culture does not only include heritage but is constantly enriched through creativity and memory, being impregnated with external cultural influences (Balassa-Flega, 2002). At the UNESCO Intergovernmental Convention on Cultural Policies in Europe (Helsinki, 1972) it was stated that culture in its wider meaning has now become an indispensable part of every day life, irrespective of political, social and economic structures of the various European countries. Getting more and more organised, culture has an increased influence on modern life and accelerates progress. In the same text it is pointed out that cultural is inter-related to education and there is an increased need for a unified approach of cultural and educational issues within the framework of Life-long Learning (Sergi, 2007)

The aforementioned conventions seem to have had a great influence on the contents of the national educational systems of all European countries determining a unified educational policy along the lines of the 18th Rapport (19th November 1974)[12], which defined a hierarchy of factors contributing to a multicultural strategy for education:

- Terms such as 'education and global perspectives', 'understanding', 'co-operation', 'international peace', 'Human Rights', 'inter-cultural education' were re-defined
- The international dimension of education has to be applied on all levels of education

- The global perspectives of education clarify the objectives of inter-cultural education
- Suggestions for national policies that increase efficiency of an education with global demands
- Development of attitudes and behaviours which will be based on recognition of equality and mutual respect and defining the cultural sectors and fields where these can be applied. Especially articles 20-21 educators are encouraged to apply an interdisciplinary approach to educational research aiming at facing the problems of the modern multicultural society especially concerning opportunities of access in education
- Actions in various fields of school activities such as Co-operating Schools supervised by UNESCO
- Setting up a framework for the renewal of means by which educators can carry out re-training programmes in intercultural education through comparison of experiences
- Creation of educational materials with a global spirit in presenting local and national dimensions of issues concerning the cultural history of humanity
- Encouraging and supporting innovative research on the subject of international educations policy
- Promoting international co-operation and exchange of teaching materials

Finally, at the UNESCO 43rd International Convention on Education in Geneva (1992, September 14-19) and the 6th Summit of the Educational Committee of the Council for Cultural Co-operation in Strasburg (1992, 24-25 September), topics discussed seem to have also influenced national cultural policies. These were:

- National Heritage in educational programmes
- The role of education in cultural and artistic development of the individual (Art Education, provision of scientific knowledge)
- Cultural development through co-operation between schools and local communities
- Cultural and inter-cultural dimensions of education: New fields of responsibility for educators (teacher training and research)

All the above give a distinct cultural dimension to international educational policies through constant interaction and innovation. Therefore, the quest for the aesthetic dimension in curricula as well as any artistic activity become alternative ways of looking into cultural policy and widen greatly the pedagogic effect of Art on education.

**Multiculturalism and Music Education in current bibliography and research**

The history of education in English speaking countries has been equated to the quest of pluralist ideologies since the time of Rousseau’s *Emile*. The aim of this quest has always been the legalisation of various types of education and the various curricula offered for social, ethnic and racial minorities.

Multicultural and intercultural are often used as meaning the same. This depends on the viewpoint and the geographical frame. For some ‘multicultural’ means the social formation and ‘intercultural’ refers to education and pedagogy as regards issues concerning the relationships of groups forming a society (Chistolini, 1995).

In a resent UNESCO paper it is clarified that multicultural education promotes knowledge of other cultures and aims at ‘acceptance or at least tolerance towards them’. On the

other hand, intercultural education aims at more than passive cohabitation rather looking for the development of understanding and respect between different groups as well as the promoting the dialogues amongst them (UNESCO, 2006).

Despite any confusion, the term ‘multicultural education’ can be regarded today as an umbrella term referring both the measures taken for offering equal opportunities to immigrant children as well as the ‘training’ of all citizens in a society so that they learn to live in a multicultural society. According to James A. Banks (1994), multicultural education comprises five dimensions: homogenisation of content, construction of knowledge, pedagogy for equality, decrease in prejudice and a school culture that empowers the members of the school community.

Multicultural education has become an integral part of schools classes in England since 1981, a result of the post-war waves of immigration. A few years later, the focus started moving from simple survival to the very structure of the educational system. Would it be possible to offer immigrant children the same opportunities for academic success and generally success in life as for the rest of the population? (Verma & Ashworth, 1985). Rejecting the ethnocentric philosophies of assimilation of the 1960’s, many talked about a system with a pluralist orientation embracing a multi-national perspective. The first study on this was the Schools Council research (Little & Willey, 1981; 1983) into policies and practices of local educational authorities and schools in multi-national education (Modgil, Verma, Mallick, 1997). All research shows that dominant cultural ideas have to be more deeply studied, supported by experiential evidence, problem analysis, formation of strategic objectives and, finally, development of criteria for assessment.

As for aesthetic education and particularly music education, various curricular agendas gather (Norman, 1999), from concern for educational equity (Green, 1983) to expanding musical content. Hollinger (1995) criticizes ‘multiculturalism’ as a movement that has drawn

energy from a variety of constituencies and tries to address wide-ranging questions, but with underling principles and vocabulary that remain too vague to allow closely reasoned discourse. It is also used to criticize as well as generate educational change (Lemann, 2000; Ravitch, 2000; Kearns & Harvey, 2000; Schlesinger, 1991). The extensive use of the term 'multiculturalism' in the research literature of this period emphasizes the problem due to the lack of clarity of goals, and the differences among its adherents.

Volk (1998) identifies three ideas supporting cultural diversity in music education:

- Recognition of a culturally diverse U.S population (Seeger, 1996)
- Development of global understanding (Anderson & Cambell, 1989, 1996, Reimer, 1993)
- Concern for balance, tolerance, the wise use of resources, and respect for other inhabitants of the earth (Jordan, 1992).

There are a variety of policy statements by professional organizations in education and in music that provide similar support for incorporating musics of the world´s cultures in music instruction in the schools (Cambell, 1994; Damm, 2000; Volk, 1998;) There is international support including the 'Policy on Musics of the World´s Cultures' of the International Society for Music Education (ISME). It seems, theoretically, that students are able to form a more realistic perspective on the cultures of diverse groups in the U.S.A by studying their musics, and, since music is a global human phenomenon, to form a more authentic global perspective on music as a result of studying selected musics across the world´s cultures (Jorgenson, 1990). However, Robinson (1996) uncovered the widespread perception among elementary teachers that 'multicultural education' is for 'others' and thus the standard Eurocentric education of public schools in this country already meets their needs. In elementary general music practices, Robinson observed pervasiveness of 'qualities known to be in opposition to

multicultural education such as rigidity, task orientation, narrow minded conceptions and ethnocentrism'.

Consideration of these issues needs a solid ground for clarification and for future research. Even if music educators have diverse perspectives, clarity is critical about: why musics of the world´s cultures are taught, what perspectives on music and culture support this practice, for whom the instruction is designed, what music cultures and what aspects of these cultures as well as levels of competence are attempted and assessed, and who is doing the teaching and what background they must have in order for them to be efficient (Reeder Lundquist, 2002).

**Aesthetic Education: 'the tip of the spear' for cultural policy in schools**

Though research into human behaviour when participating in cultural activities has been studied since the 1970s, there still exists a difficulty in determining the reasons, the motivation and the factors affecting it. This is due to the fact that the weight of each factor depends heavily on the interrelation between factors and if greatly influenced by the frequency of participation (NEA, 1981; Mc Carthy & Jinnett, 2002).

Recent research in England and North America has shown the close relationship between cultural education and the interest for art and cultural participation developed at a young age (NEA, 1981; NEA, 1988; Scottish Arts Council, 2001). It has been supported that art education plays a central role in understanding and enjoying art and determines greatly the future participation patterns of the individual, by far exceeding any other factor, such as social class, sex and financial conditions. Cultural experiences have been recognized as a prerequisite for personal development, social integration and creative participation in cultural

life allowing for better knowledge of one’s own culture as well as that of others (Freese, 2005).

Opinions on the place of Aesthetic Education within the framework of obligatory school education still differ, while a lot is also mentioned about marginalisation or abandonment of subjects that do not seem to have an immediate application on the demands of modern life (Plummeridge, 2001).

Despite being threatened with marginalisation, the Arts are still and indispensable aspect of human existence so the school can find help from various cultural organisations when looking for allies in Arts Education. Many of these offer educational programmes as part of their social mission dictating the abolition of obstacles limiting free access to cultural goods, regardless of these obstacles being geographical, economic, social, racial or educational (Freese, 2005).

Free access through understanding, assessment and enjoyment of Art and artists’ work is the focus of activities of such organisations. Interactive approaches are being emphasised thus ensuring contact between the individual and the artistic products as well active participation of the individual in the creative process. This is believed to contribute to a holistic growth of human personality in the modern world (Rogers, 1998), and gradually leads to the acceptance and incorporation of cultural practices in every day life. Achieving this goal translates in a rise of living standards and somehow justifies the existence of cultural organisations supporting their survival in the present and future. Without real appreciation and love for the arts, there is no guarantee for the continuation of cultural participation (Kotler & Scheff, 1997), insofar as all the other factors are satisfied, for example social status, curiosity, peer pressure and so on). As for artistic work itself, interaction between the work and the individual as well as between the individual and the cultural organisation leads to new

approaches, questioning the works and the existing models and practices, promoting new developments and ideas.

Hence, educational activity of cultural organisations can have multiple benefits for the individual, society, artistic work and the organisation itself (Rogers, 1998). These benefits, as in any other educational activity have long-term effects and show immediately; so long-lasting stable and mutual bonds have to be developed between the individual, artwork and the cultural organisation. Cultural organisations are usually places for the exhibition or presentation of works of art, performances and so on, so experiencing art means visiting these places.

Understanding artistic processes breaks down the obstacles for participation, especially when the audience is not a passive observer but actively takes part in them (McCarthy and Jinnett, 2002). With this idea as a springboard, cultural organisations widen their educational contribution by offering co-operations programmes to schools, aiming at activating and liberating both students’ and educators’ artistic potential. Co-operation of this kind can become more effective than formal education, as they usually avoid the teacher-centered models of interaction promoting creative participation for everybody involved (Small, 1983).

Acting as motivators and facilitators, artists provide basic instruction, encouragement and help, allowing educators and students to explore different ways of approaching art through activities of listening and viewing, through music, performance and visual expression. This way the discrepancy between professional-producer and amateur-consumer, on which limitation of individual expressive power is based (Adams, 2201), gets less acute (Small, 1983). The focus of attention moves from the formulated object to the creative process, cultivating the fertile conditions for assimilating the artistic experience in the lives of both children and adults, thus giving art its true meaning (Rogers, 1998).

Given the frequent limits of time, means and specialised knowledge of schoolteachers, cultural organisations adapt their educational services to the current needs of educators. Many of them organise seminars for teachers’ personal artistic development, informing them on current approaches, ideas and activities incorporating artistic creativity in the classroom and enriching teaching practices with a variety of artistic practices, such as painting, music, theatre and so on.

Another important advantage of the co-operation between artists and schools is taking the arts from its formal framework of presentation – the cultural organisation – inside the school environment, the school building, where children spend most of their time. Despite its limitations imposed by the environment, this transfer cancels any psychological obstacles a strange, often overwhelming, place may put, familiarity of the environment making contact with art easier and less threatening. Furthermore, when it comes to music education, co-operation with artists from the community enables presentations with a greater variety, broadening the content of music education and adding an ethnographic interest. Particularly in our modern multicultural globalised environment, multicultural education allows for exploration of other kinds of music, representing the cultural heritage and the current interest among students (Green, 2001). The presence in the classroom of artists from various cultural backgrounds enables experiencing the rich variety of musical expression, making the subject of music education more accessible and of course a lot more interesting. An orientation change from the rules of European harmony to the polymorphy of music creativity can help students understand the differences among musics of various times and places, develop individualized ways of thinking and delving in music, discover and hat construct personal meanings of the musical experience (Spruce, 2001).

## Teaching approaches in multicultural education: A model of intervention of School Psychology for Diversity and Culture

It has been globally observed that most schools today in almost every educational system have student populations with multiple levels of ability, skills, motivation models for learning, and psycho-social adaptation calling for equally multiple ways of intervention. Determining factors judging efficiency and school adaptation run along two main lines, *similarity* and *difference.* Similarity has to do with the various achievements all children are expected to accomplish at their various stages of development. Difference refers to each individual, the family, the school and the services provided for the facilitation of learning and the promotion of psychological health. (Chatzichristou, Giavrimis, Dimitropoulou, Kati, 2005).

One of the most significant sources of differentiation among students in all schools is the difference in cultural background. The increasing number of immigrant students in the Greek educational system is the basic source of differentiation and calls for a lot of action in facilitating learning and psycho-social adaptation. Cultural background seems to be the most important factor in adapting to the school environment and has to be taken into consideration in formulating teaching practices. Culture plays an important role in forming emotions, recognizing them as they are expressed through the tone of voice and facial expression and understanding the feelings of others.

Leaving one’s own homeland and settling in a new country in itself is a painstaking experience. Adapting to new conditions is very important for ensuring emotional balance in children given the fact that they are called to face a number of difficulties at the point when two different cultural worlds meet.

Along the lines of the most current developments in School Psychology, a new model of combining theory, research, training and intervention has been proposed in the Greek educational system in 2006-2008. It comprises four inter-related phases of which the first three refer to the description of the needs and the compilation of a broad information base of experiential data for the design and of interventional programmes according the needs of children in Greek schools. In the fourth phase the Centre for Research and Application of School Psychology was established at the University of Athens, including among its activities:

- Education and Training in prevention and promotion of psychological health in schools for the facilitation of learning
- Co-operation between the University, schools and communities for the design and application of programmes of primary and secondary prevention as well as the provision of counseling services
- Carrying out research and making relevant publications

One of the intervention programmes designed and applied by the Centre was the programme of Promoting Psychological Health and Learning: Social and Emotional Education in Schools (Chatzichristou, ed., 2004a, 2004b, 2008). It consists of ten thematic units aiming at promoting psychological health and learning, the creation of a positive environment in schools, the holistic development of children, the prevention of learning difficulties and school adaptation. Some of them are:

- Communication skills
- Recognition, expressions and handling of emotions
- Self-perception and self-confidence
- Responding to stress generating situations
- Facing conflict

- Diversity and Music Culture

The programme has been going on during 2006-2008 in state schools in Greece and Cyprus and is based on a synthesis of different modern theoretical approaches. The application of the programme is realized by school psychologists or specialized teachers who have undergone specific training and supervision. In recent years emphasis is placed on the programme being applied by teachers, promoting psychological and sociological strength in the school environment and the creation of a network of schools taking part in the programme.

A complex model of assessment is used by participants, both teachers and students. Assessment has shown significant benefits for all and has encouraged application of similar programmes in the entire school community. More specifically, the results of the assessment in previous years show high level of acceptance by the entire teacher-student population. From children’s replies it has been shown that the basic goals of the thematic units of the programme have been achieved. Moreover, students have found the programme helpful in expressing their feelings, improving their personal relationships, understanding and accepting themselves, and generally in their communication and co-operation with others.

The tactics for psychological adaptation followed were in accordance with Berry’s theory (Berry, 1984; Berry et all 1992) on both personal and group level and gave answers to two essential questions:

- To what degree are cultural identity and ethnic characteristics maintained in people who have moved,
- How important it is for relationships to exist between the group of immigrants and the host country.

The conclusions of the thematic unit entitled Diversity and Culture are summarized below:

- Stereotypes seem to pose the most significant obstacles between different groups and raise walls in the efforts of the different groups to communicate with each other.
- The most stress-generating factors for immigrant children are weak school results, low levels of self-perception and inability to handle stress.
- Different as well as similar needs of children were observed.
- The framework of interaction between students enabled common development among children.
- Special emphasis was placed on skills such as communication and conflict management.

Generally, current research evidence from Greece and other countries re-enforce the view that a school oriented toward the emotional environment surrounding learning is better equipped to respond to the basic psychological and sociological needs of children, which are the need for efficiency, autonomy and a feeling of belonging.

**Conclusion**

'Learning to live together' is the 21st century challenge. School happens to be a compulsory stop in this route, despite its utopias and controversies. Because however many weaknesses we can see in the school, we still recognize its power in providing ways of personal and communal action, action than often has a potential to change the world. The school of the 21st century has to answer convincingly to those questions posed by to countries and societies in the modern world of information and communication, respecting difference and ensuring justice. Of course we mean an education dictated by a spirit of community, co-operation, a

school for all, a school that can follow social developments offering representations of a community where we learn to learn together.

Culture is a field asking for long-term action. Therefore, for a cultural policy to be viable in aesthetic education, in strengthening cultural identities, in the decrease of inequality and the enjoyment of cultural goods, it is important to have certain directives: specific objectives, predictions, means and measures, time frames, resources, application institutions and axes for the quantitative and qualitative assessment of efficiency (Konsola, 2006).

Subsidiarity of school intervention in the field of culture is a focal point shedding light to the importance of the state in the citizens’ society. The aim of this Subsidiarity is to set off the process of cultural production of society itself at a primary level. Then, and only then, will educational policy ‘through the arts’ maintain high levels of the meaning of common social interest and keep its mission to serve the public alive.

Robinson (1999) points out that schools are neither islands not ghettos when it comes to culture. On the contrary, they have the same cultural frame as their environment and are determined by the same cultural values. Even teaching theories and methodological approaches mirror the views of society on school (Fletcher, 1991). Thus, if we want to interpret the orientation, the objectives and the content of education, we have to examine the social system, the oppositions and the interests it serves, since school depends on the state and is controlled by it. Educational authorities are a point of reference for educators, especially those called to act and play a role in the same field of responsibility. Therefore, they have to be inspired by a tolerant and liberal inclination aiding practices of intellectual and artistic creativity. Those for this type of approach contribute to the role of the school in the improvement of school efficiency even by students who come from different ethnic groups. Setting up student communities with co-operation being the main characteristic, designing of

a common teaching approach for the educator communities, opening the school to artistic groups, taking part in European programmes for mobility are some of the practices proposed.

Education is placed on the crossroads of difficult decisions an accent on the role of school management so that schools can successfully face the demands of a constantly developing society. Social change, development in family structure, culture particularities and mobility meet at the school making up the mosaic of each class. The effort to create a ‘we’ putting ‘mine’ and ‘other’ together definitely takes all sorts. To define music curriculum as cultural studies is to suggest a new way of thinking about music education and its purposes. It is a way of clarifying the relationship between music education and culture. Implementing a cultural studios perspective will not be easy, but it will be their biggest challenge in the twenty-first century relevance.

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**Endnotes**

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# Pathways to Performance: An Exploration of Musical Growth in the Sociocultural Environment of East Galway

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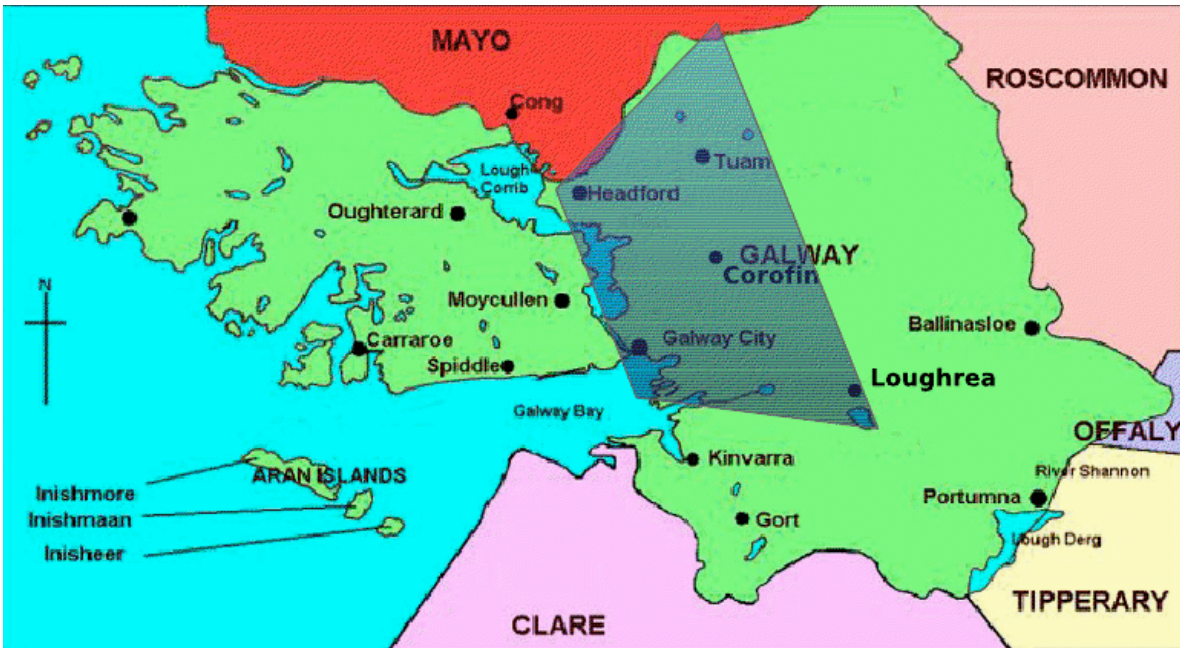
*Abstract*

There is a popular perception that Ireland's musical reputation is based principally on its traditional music with other musical genres featuring to a lesser extent. This paper explores the musical reputation of a small area in the West of Ireland, East County Galway. Focusing on the emerging musical identities of 14 young Irish adults, it illustrates how the sociocultural context of a particular learning environment can exert dynamic influences on pathways of musical growth. The study is informed by accounts of musical learning ranging from pre-school to young adulthood stages and it is sited in primary and secondary level schools as well as in the homes and the local communities. This emerging empirical data is linked with historical perspectives and methods of learning distinctive to the East Galway area. Also included are findings that suggest that musical development is enriched when learning systems used in this traditional culture integrate with other methodologies, both formal and informal. The paper will conclude with a proposed construct of a musical identity specific to the East Galway region.

## Introduction: the East Galway context

Fig 1: Location of Study




The location of this study extends north and east of Galway Bay for a radius of 20 to 30 miles. This region plays host to an interesting cluster of cultures. To the west of this site, the area called the Connemara *Gaeltacht* is a stronghold of the Irish language and a locale in which traditional music, song and dance are also nurtured. At the south of the district lies the city of Galway, a dynamic community that enjoys a plethora of musical traditions. A third influence is the Irish construct of schooling with its pronounced influence of Western European culture as embodied in the primary and particularly the secondary school curricula of the 1980s and the 1990s. The main thrust of this paper is an investigation of the manner in which this tri-partite symbiosis moulds the development of young musicians in the area. The 14 young respondents in this study are successful musicians and now aged between 20 and 30 years, they are all playing or teaching music in a variety of genres. They have been educated in different parts of the county; the city of Galway, the three small towns Tuam, Loughrea and Headford, and the village of Corofin. All musicians have

provided information in a short questionnaire and have participated in a semi-structured interview. Focus on these emerging musical pathways has been divided into four areas, three of which are linked to the stages of schooling: pre-school, primary level and second level. The fourth sector runs alongside the other three and centres on the influence of community music.

**Pre-school environment**

The musicians in this study were all born in the early to mid 1980's and at this time in East Galway, the most common pre-school musical environment constituted a family home with three or four children.

Table 1: First Encounters with Music (n=14)

| Family Performing | Family Listening | Family Performing | Family Listening | Family Listening |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Irish Traditional | Irish Traditional | Classical | Classical | Rock/Country |
| 7 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

Describing their earliest musical memories, 10 of the interviewees remember first becoming aware of music in Irish Traditional style. As the table illustrates, some of these respondents remember listening to music being played on local radio or on cassette tape. This music included the work of local artists, the singing of Dolores Keane for example, or the traditional fiddle playing of Matt Cunningham.

As shown on the table, these encounters relate to music that is more often *performed* by a member of the family. For instance, Nadine's father plays to his daughter as he learns a traditional tune on the banjo. Ciara's mother is making music on the button-accordion. Breege's granddad makes bodhráns, (traditional Irish drums made of goatskin) which are then played by her father and her brother. The most common experience, as Tracey remembers, is that of a father or a brother playing the tin whistle or singing spontaneously. These encounters involve listening to performance with an 'active maker' as described by Young (1995, p.51) and it is the parents, along with other family members who are the important 'key others' labeled by Davidson et al. (1997, p.197-203).

In addition to listening, these young Irish children are also responding *actively* to the traditional musical stimuli. Andrew, having watched a friend perform, decides to take up the button accordion and at the age of five he begins lessons with his own accordion. Nadine nags her mother to 'find lessons' so she can 'play the fiddle like her cousin'. Tracey, aged four, remembers asking her Dad to 'show her tunes on the fiddle'. This is exactly the 'active response' to musical environment tabulated by Plomin et al. in 1977, and it becomes a likely harbinger of success as the families reciprocate further, reaching out from the home environment to traditional music-making in the community. Breege recalls watching her brothers rehearse in the local hall, and at the age of three being given a shaker and 'starting into it…just to make a noise'. Nadine remembers as a pre-school child trying to copy her brothers by learning to play an Irish polka. Her proud parents subsequently bring her to the local traditional community class to display her achievement!

There is a sense that young observers at this pre-school stage are picking up strong cultural signals from traditional Irish music-making. This process, coined 'enculturation' by Herskovitz (1948, p.39), is described by Green as 'immersion in the everyday music and

musical experience of one's social context' (2002, p.22). It is evident here in many of the homes and perhaps more significantly, it is manifesting in the link between music-making in the homes and in the local communities.

**Primary school environment**

Embarking on their primary education around the age of five, these young children attend institutions which range in size from small rural two-teacher schools to larger establishments in the towns and in Galway city. Class size also varies accordingly ranging from a very small group of 5 pupils to the more usual 30- 35 pupils per class.

Many of the respondents refer to this school as their 'National School', a term that resonates with the 'comprehensive Gaelic revival plan' instigated by the Irish Government in the aftermath of political independence some 80 years earlier. This plan as documented by McCarthy (1999, p.117-120), led to the singing of Irish and Anglo-Irish songs in the primary classes and when books of instrumental music were subsequently introduced, these 'Gaelic Tunes' were played on the tin whistle. The utilization of songs, tunes and instruments associated with the traditional culture was resonant with the government's promotion of Irish musical heritage and by the late 1930s and early 1940s, whistle bands had became popular in the primary schools.

Returning to this East Galway study some 80 years later, the primary school environment is remarkably similar. Of the 14 musicians, 13 describe first classroom music lessons where they also play Irish tunes on the tin whistle. Rehearsals are part of the normal daily classroom routine.

*Ronan* I used to really enjoy the tin whistle. We'd always have 10 minutes a day.

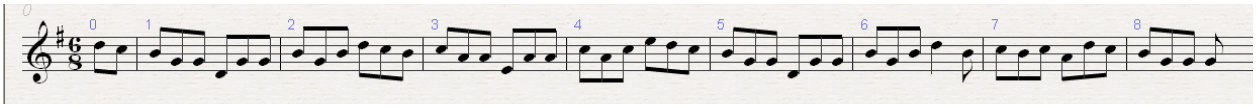
*Breege* In 'baby infants' [year one in the Irish primary school system] we were playing polkas straight away. You had a tin whistle at home and a tin whistle in school so there was no excuse.

Young musicians also remember preparations for the celebration of St Patrick's Day, Ireland's national holiday. In this instance religious and nationalist sentiments of the area combine as primary school bands march in the neighboring towns and villages. Collette describes 'learning a few tunes every year for St. Patrick's Day'. Andrew remembers being brought to the school gym to practice playing and marching for the St. Patrick's parade while Norah talks of learning Irish marches 'from the board' in preparation for St. Patrick's Day. These primary school bands of the 1980's now boast a variety of traditional instruments, with button accordions, melodicas and fiddles joining the tin whistles. In addition, at this level, the young musicians are encouraged to diversify and begin learning a second instrument. For example, Tracey aged five plays the tin whistle in school and the fiddle at home with her Dad. Ian, once started on the tin whistle, is encouraged to 'branch out' to the banjo as soon as possible while Collette learns the button accordion and the tin whistle simultaneously.

**Notation systems**

A second finding in this environment is the strong link between methodologies used in the primary schools and that which is employed in the community for traditional lessons. These young musicians describe transcribing from 'letters on the blackboard' or writing 'letters in a note-book'. By way of illustration, the first section of the popular double jig 'The Irish Washerwoman' is written here in conventional notation.

Fig 2: The Irish Washerwoman Notation



It might be written thus in the letter system:

Jig in G major

D'CI BGG DGG I BGB D'CB I CAA EAA ICAC E'D'C IBGG DGG I BGB D'- B ICBC AD'C I BGG G-

This system, a type of notational memory aid, is used in conjunction with learning by ear and as is illustrated above, it involves writing out the melody of the tune in letter names. Bar-lines are sometimes included but often there is no corresponding organization applied to the rhythm of the tune. In fact methods in general are not consistent varying from teacher to teacher within the locality and also from region to region.

The use of alternative indigenous notation systems, some from as early as the nineteenth century, is documented by McCarthy, (1999, p.101-103), and an interesting study of the 'Sliabh Luachra Code' by Cranitch (1996) illustrates two imaginative systems of tablature, one for the fiddle and one for the button accordion, which were employed by Pádraig O Keeffe, a teacher working in the border areas of County Cork and County Kerry in the 1950s.

Looking back on her experiences in 1980s Galway, Ciara describes notebooks full of letters, where occasionally there might have been 'a long line drawn ... to maybe hold the note if that one was longer than the one before it', while Breege recounts the use of conventional notation and the letter system simultaneously. This lack of consistency is perhaps not as remiss as it would seem. These young students of Irish music are already familiar with the dance metres commonly in use, (for example 4/4 for a reel or 6/8 for a double-jig), and a letter plan to guide or aid the melodic memory is more than adequate. The first learning contact remains the actual *sound* of the music when the teacher plays or lilts the tune and the student listens. This experience, described by Shepherd et al (1977) as 'an

immediate rather than a mediated relationship with the music' is a process which resonates thirty years later as the young adults in this study describe their learning methods in a variety of genres.

**The Specialist music teacher**

Illustrating a third important trend at this level, 11 of the 14 players in this study describe being taught by a visiting teacher. These musicians are not employed by the Department of Education but are talented traditional performers and teachers from the local community. They visit weekly, sometimes collaborating with the class teacher and sometimes instructing the more senior classes. Rachael says,

> … we had tin whistle and up until our second or third class [year four in the Irish primary school system] it was just our normal teacher and then we had some people coming in.

Breege describes a very significant experience:

> Our class teacher, she used to line us up to face the board. She'd put up the notes and she'd stamp her foot. And the school had such a big music involvement that you couldn't avoid it, you just expected it. For junior and senior infants (years one and two), music was in class, and further up we had an outside teacher who came in.

For Ciara the encounter is intense, perhaps even formative:

> The lady who came into our primary school to teach Irish music…That took up such a chunk of my life. It was her influence ... her enthusiasm for Irish music.

Musical encounter at Primary level is intrinsically linked to music-making in the local community culture regarding methodology and the choice of instruments. Ó Súilleabháin (1996, p.5) describes this relationship as a 'living bridge' by which young musicians can come to know the social context of their musical heritage. In this enquiry the 'living bridge' can boast a two-way traffic system because once the children have mastered a few tunes in

the school classes, they can bring their skills back to the community and join the weekly evening sessions.

At this point it is worth considering *Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann*, an association which features commonly in the accounts of the interviewees and one which is responsible for the most dynamic growth and development of Irish musical culture in the East Galway community. Founded in 1951, this movement is involved in the preservation and promotion of Irish traditional music countrywide. It organizes community classes and weekly sessions in local halls and school buildings and it also co-ordinates a thriving infrastructure of competitive festivals or *feiseanna* culminating in the all-Ireland Festival or *Fleadh Cheoil na hÉireann*. Here a strong sense of 'the musical community 'prevails. Tracey remembers, 'It was nearly like a day out going to the *fleadh*'. Breege recalls travelling to the *fleadh* in a community bus which had been subsidized by the local football club!

Throughout the adolescent years, musical activity plays an important role in the construction of social identity. To be part of the 'in crowd' playing the 'in music' going to the competition, these are social markers as well as creative pursuits. (Tarrant, North and Hargreaves, 2002. p.137). In East Galway the absence of an established youth club infrastructure means that organizations such as *Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann* often become a hub of social as well as cultural activity. Breege recalls:

> It was great when we got older. We weren't going out to discos....and 'cause no-one had a social life, it was our way of socializing.

**Secondary school environment**

Entrance to Irish second level education in the mid 1990s coincided with the advent of new certificate curricula in both the junior and senior cycles. These syllabi represented a moving

away from an almost complete adherence to Western art music traditions and signaled a new inclusivity with all musical styles now welcome. In addition, since 1996 the senior cycle music programme has embodied a potential 50% weighting of the total marks for a performance elective. It would seem that in the second level classroom the local musical culture of East Galway now has the potential to feature strongly alongside other styles.

Responses of the 14 interviewees in this area are varied and they fall into three categories. In the first case, performance at second level is enjoyed frequently, but usually in more conventional ensembles such as the school choir or the orchestra. In a second instance, regular classroom performance is planned but it rarely happens, occurring only in a burst of activity approaching practical examinations. Happily, the third and largest group (about 50%), recount very positive experiences where their skills in traditional music are accepted and celebrated regularly in the second level classroom. They perform with and for their peers, they play at lunch-time concerts and they can share gigs with their musician friends in the community. In the 'musicing' mode central to Elliott's paraxial philosophy (1995), they work their own arrangements, sometimes fusing their traditional performance with other genres.

Collette elucidates the importance of this type of group performance:

> There were lots of people who were really good classical players... also really good traditional players and there were lots of people who didn't excel in any particular field, but when everybody worked together it all worked.

When the socializing blends with 'musicing', (ibid.,1995) and when the young players develop a non-verbal togetherness, then the musical moment becomes special.

> *Ian* It was never said or anything but we ... as well as being friends and having conversations, we had musical conversations when we played. And you learn an awful lot about people. And it's

> hard when you get that buzz to ... you know it's almost like a drug ... you need to get it!
>
> *Breege* You were so used to playing with each other you just had to look and you'd know... Can the arrangement change now or will we get faster or get slower?

In 2008, Green (p.124) describes this state as being possessed of a kind of 'spontaneous interpersonal togetherness'. In some secondary school environments this togetherness is projected outward and the 'living bridge' between school and community becomes a well-trodden road as the students reach out with their musical activities.

> *Collette* We would play for all sorts of ... not so much competitions but some different events in the community…and outside of our own community. One that immediately comes to mind would be a Telethon concert that was put on in the local hall and also there were other musicians that weren't in the school involved in that and we worked with them.

Later, Collette recalls:

> We got to record with some other artists and do shows with some other professional musicians who contacted the teacher and asked for students to get involved. So there was huge activity all the time, every month of every year.

Anna, meanwhile, comments:

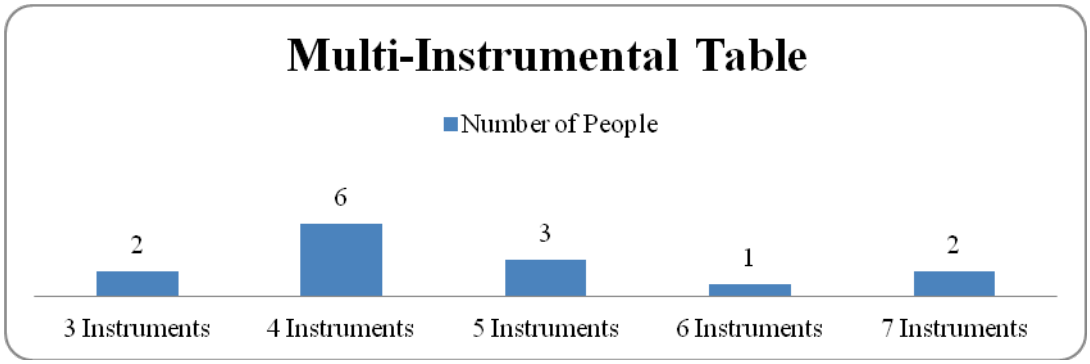
> I remember playing at the hospital at Christmas. Just to be able to do that was wonderful. It was something special ... to be able to give in that way.

If the experiences of these 14 teenagers (especially those in the second level classrooms) are considerably varied, there are three areas where their approach to various musical encounters at this stage remains remarkably similar, namely, *Multi-instrumental talent*, *Bi-musicality* and *Playing by ear*.

**Multi-instrumental talent**

The ability to play more than one instrument seems standard in this group, and the sources so far have shown that the impetus for this diversification often begins within the Irish tradition itself. It is true that a genre that is mainly melodic might lend itself quite easily to such diversification and this phenomenon certainly resonates with Irish traditional musicians in the professional limelight. Button accordion player Sharon Shannon also plays fiddle, tin-whistle and melodeon while Frankie Gavin is noted as much for fiddle playing as for his virtuosity on flute and tin whistle. As Table 2 below shows, no player in this study has a working knowledge of less than three instruments (basic skills on additional instruments are not included).

Table 2: Multi-instrumental Table




In this sample, to be multi-instrumental is the norm. It certainly seems useful for survival as a professional musician in East Galway. Two examples illustrate this point. Collette, when auditioning to be a singer in Gráda, (a traditional / folk group), used her voice and played both fiddle and guitar. She was also asked to perfect her bodhrán playing, a fourth instrument being deemed useful. Nadine has been organizer of a student string quartet that

performs at weddings. In her efforts to locate suitable players for the various weddings, it has been an invaluable asset to be technically proficient in violin, viola and 'cello.

**Bi-musicality**

In the present study, playing with confidence on more than one instrument has spread to performing with confidence in different genres. All members of the sample can be said to be bi-musical and describe playing in more than one musical style on the appropriate instruments. Of the 14 respondents, 10 play in three or more styles. The following table outlines three developmental profiles.

Table 3: Instrumental Profile

| Approximate Age | Ian's Profile | Dara's Profile | Nadine's Profile |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 Yrs. | Traditional Tin whistle/Banjo | Classical Piano/ Recorder | Traditional Keyboard/ Fiddle |
| 10 Yrs. | Rock Drums | Traditional Flute | Classical Violin/Piano |
| 12 Yrs. | Jazz Trombone | Rock Drums | Traditional Concertina |
| 15 Yrs. | Classical Singing | Jazz Saxophone | Classical Viola/Cello |

The term 'bi-musicality' as coined by Hood (1960) is defined by O'Flynn (2005) as the ability to have an understanding of and be proficient in 'the technical requirements and stylistic nuances of two distinct musical systems'. Again there are examples of 'key others'.

McCarthy (1996) cites the example of the young Irish students of Maoin Cheoil Chois Chláir who are learning both classical music and traditional music simultaneously in the manner of young bilingual children. In the professional limelight, Zoë Conway a young violinist equally at home with both classical and traditional styles has toured with the Irish Chamber Orchestra and has won an all-Ireland Senior Fiddle Championship at the Fleadh Cheoil na hÉireann. Cora Venus Lunny, also a violinist and RTE's Musician of the Future in 1999, has recently joined Jewish Kletzmer band 'Yurodny' while continuing to perform her classical repertoire. Iarla Ó Lionaird, a traditional sean-nós singer, collaborates with contemporary musicians Donnacha Dennehy and the Crash Ensemble. These 'highly positive identity models' (Csikszentmihalyi et al 1993) are certainly giving example of musical adaptability as they transfer from style to style.

**Playing by Ear**

Almost all the musicians in this study have encountered traditional music as a first activity. Although only four now pursue it as a main encounter, the majority (12 of the 14 musicians) still prefer to learn by ear. This predilection is perhaps to be expected in the traditional and folk music styles. Both Collette and Liam for example, describe their current learning methods as 'almost 100% by ear'. It is interesting that Tracey and

Ciara the secondary school music teachers, both enjoy working a lot by ear. For example:

> *Tracey* I depend on my ear a lot. Only if a piece is particularly difficult would I try to get some notation.

Of most significance is the response of the classical musicians. Nadine the viola player and Ronan the violinist consider working by ear to be their main method, despite the fact that they both can sight-read conventional notation with ease.

*Ronan* If I use my ear, I can learn a piece straight away. I do these chamber music weekends. We'd play in sextets quartets octets. If I was pushed for time I'd have the music in front of me and I'd put on the CD. I can hear the whole lot and that's how I learn.... I'm a fairly decent sight reader as well!

## Conclusion

Each of the musical environments discussed in this study has its part to play in the moulding of musical pathways in East Galway. Beginning with the pre-school stage, the strong cultural imprint has developed links with traditional Irish music making in the local community. This link is nurtured and strengthened at primary level as community musicians collaborate with the class teachers. Then as the student musicians grow older, performing in the community and in the secondary school, these cultural activities play an important role in the establishment of their social identity. Despite some variance in experiences within the second level classroom, some characteristics of traditional Irish musical methodologies remain with these players. In the manner of a first language, these aspects continue to mould engagement with musical encounter whatever the style. This combination of factors produces a young musician who is a multi-instrumentalist, who is often bi-musical and who has the confidence to engage with an aural immediacy whatever the musical genre.

In County Galway there is neither a faculty of music in the city university, a conservatoire of music, nor any other such third level educational institution. There is therefore the possibility that some of these young musicians may have diversified or moved sideways to engage with a different instrument or perhaps a new genre. Certainly the classical musicians in the study have had to travel out of the county in order to progress to a required standard. On the other hand, the region now boasts a number of talented multi-

instrumentalists who have adapted to this environment and who can engage in bi-musical encounters while retaining a strong link with the style of their local musical culture. The dynamic quality of musical life in this area can only be augmented by this state of musical affairs.

**The contemporary perspective**

Since this qualitative research focuses on memories and past events of the 1980s and the 1990s a view from the perspective of the present prompts the raising of three pertinent questions:

1) How does the musical environment in an East Galway home in the 21st century compare with one in the 1980's? Does the modern pre-school environment still resonate with Irish traditional music-making or have factors such as increased use of technology affected this process of enculturation?

2) In the current primary school curriculum class teachers are encouraged to engage completely and positively with music in their classroom. Does the link with the richness of Irish traditional music in the East Galway community remain? And if it exists, what is the nature, or the present shape of this 'living bridge'?

3) Music at second level has witnessed a most positive growth. The popularity of the subject is unprecedented and the numbers sitting the Leaving Certificate exam have almost trebled in the last ten years. (State Examinations Commission

2007, p. 5). In this new plurality, can teachers, students and community musicians embrace the unique phenomenon of Irish traditional music, in a practical environment that is both inclusive and productive?

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# Music Ensembles in U. S. Schools: Enabling Additives and Alternatives

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*Abstract*

This paper reports results from the second round of data collected in the author's ongoing research on alternative ensembles in school music programs. (The first stage of the research was reported at the *Fifth Sociology of Music Education Symposium* in Newfoundland 2007). Following a brief introductory summary of the genesis, growth, and sustenance of programs reported in the first stage of the research, qualitative teacher survey and interview data from an additional eight school sites across the U.S. are examined in light of the *program policy decisions* which these new cases, collectively, suggest. Specifically, policy choices and parameters raised during the first round are discussed according to: a) student participation, b) conceptualizations of musicianship, c) cultural-aesthetic congruence and, d) program design. Ways in which traditional and non-traditional ensembles do, and can, co-exist while each contributing to developing musicianship among children and teenagers will be offered as exemplars. Differences in inherent assumptions between alternative ensemble practice and traditional ensemble practice form the basis of recommendations set forth for the initial framing of an applied research agenda for music teacher education reform regarding music ensemble program policies in schools.

Today's talk continues my interest in the changing soundscape of instrumental ensembles in public schools in the United States, as a sequel to research, which I presented two years ago at the fifth *Sociology of Music Education* symposium in Newfoundland. That investigation was a fishing expedition of sorts to find and record instances of instrumental ensembles which had been begun by music teachers and maintained successfully for five or more years, and whose instrumentation lay outside the band-orchestra spectrum. The initial research identified salient issues regarding how and why such ensembles get started, how they are maintained, and what future prospects exist for their sustenance (Colley, 2008).

**Context**

As a brief and cursory context to this line of inquiry, two major trends appear to be forcing ensemble transformation in music education, the first being rapidly changing demographics of school age populations. Recent census bureau forecasts predict, e.g. that by the year 2020 enrollments of Hispanic children will increase by 60% (Spring, 2002). As recently as two weeks ago, the popular morning television show, *TODAY,* in the United States, reported in the context of the continuing contentious debate over bi-lingual education in U.S. public schools that by 2025, one in four students will be of Hispanic heritage (Almaguer, 2009). Secondly, the availability of musics outside the Western canon via live and electronic sources continues to proliferate, creating expectations among parents and students for school music programs to accurately reflect our art form (Ball, 2009; Goodale, 2009; Hartman, 2009; Mixon, 2009; Randall, 2008; Spray, 2008; Tanner, 2007; Volk, 1998; Wade, 2004).

Accordingly, this second phase of my research deals with policy decisions connected with 'enabling additives and alternatives' to school ensemble programs. I have struggled to arrive at this awkward and cumbersome terminology. The word 'alternative,' which was used

previously by itself, suggests 'instead of', which I find not only elicits turf-protection among band and orchestra directors but, moreover, misrepresents that many 'non-traditional' ensembles are, indeed, program additions, and *not* replacements of large traditional ensembles. (So, I welcome suggestions for less grammatically awkward terminology.)

In her book, *Transforming Music Education* Estelle Jorgensen (2003) said of the curatorial role that music teachers have historically been expected to play in preserving particular musical traditions:

> … My own dialectical view of the tensions between the curatorial, ethnological, and critical suggests that it is incumbent on educational policy makers to work out practical resolutions for their particular circumstances. To take this approach, however, means that music teachers and those interested in their work must look beyond a narrowly focused curatorial view of the traditions(s) they practice toward the claims of a more culturally contextualized and critical view. This may lead them to actively transgress the taken-for-granted to, as Giroux puts it, 'focus on 'ruptures, shifts, flows, and unsettlement.' Transforming music requires careful and critical reflection concerning those aspects to affirm and transmit, or repudiate and jettison…. Such a broad view necessitates significant changes in teacher preparation (p.110-111).

As I explained two years ago in Newfoundland, it was with an eye toward transforming music teacher preparation that I undertook research to document the genesis, maintenance, and sustenance of non-traditional ensembles begun *by music teachers*. Now, in 2009, I examine policy implications for aspiring music teachers to consider that are inherent in the interviewees' circumstances, decisions, and stories

I use as a lens for policy discussion perspectives from two authors' entries in the 2002 music education research handbook (Colwell and Richardson, 2002). According to National Association of Music Schools president Sam Hope, policy is a 'perceived need to act…a decision which arises because of a question of how to proceed' (Hope, 2002). MENC president John Mahlmann contends that policy is neither prescriptive nor dictatorial, but descriptive, i.e. policy is a way of describing an organization's behavior that is true to the group's mission (Mahlmann, 2002). Viewed in the context of recent policy research

syntheses from our parent field of education (Fuhrman et. al., 2007) whose conclusions decry a one-size-fits-all approach to educational policy development in U.S. schools, I embrace the view of veteran educational policy analyst and program evaluator Carol Hirschon Weiss on our roles and responsibilities as researchers:

> Education research certainly can (and does) contribute to the development of structures, practices, and materials that enhance student learning, but it is unrealistic to expect research to identify features and combinations of features that maximize learning for each type of student in each type of setting. Moreover, research does not produce hard-and-fast findings once and for all. (Weiss, in Fuhrman et. al., p.284)

In addition, this research on alternative ensembles was begun as a step in the development of an 'applied' research model in music education that is characterized by, among other features, its situated timing during paradigmatic shifts in our field, (in this case, an expansion beyond, or departure from, the prevailing large-ensemble-as-music program model in schools), and in environments where data would be most salient, (in this case, in schools and communities where music teachers are successfully transforming standard large-Western-ensemble models to include substantially diverse instruments, timbres, and/or repertoires).

**Methodology**

Methodologically, my research approach was inspired by anthropologist Catherine Besteman's *Transforming Cape Town* (2008), an ethnography of one of the most remarkable political and social transformations of our era. Choosing to synthesize a collection of case studies over time, rather than conduct a single ethnography, Besteman concluded

> It would be difficult to capture the story of the transformation of Cape Town in a single case study – a jumble of case studies more accurately captures the slow yet frenetic, uncoordinated, amoeba-like grassroots efforts at transformation…*all* of the stories I'm following are important to the central theme of this book… A man

> in the tourism business who regularly traverses the city's many neighborhoods described Cape Town to me in 2003 as a city that appears frozen in (apartheid) time, yet when you look closer you realize that the ground is moving constantly…. It is a messy portrait. (p.21-22)

So too, with the evolving soundscape of music ensembles in United States schools. My 'messy portrait' of a slow transformation from the orchestra-band-chorus trilogy still common in most school systems to a colorful array of diverse repertoire styles and instrumentations depicts music teachers who took sometimes controversial stances to, as Jorgensen suggests, repudiate and jettison, while *simultaneously* performing their expected curatorial role as affirmers and transmitters of the large-ensemble-as-music program cultural status quo.

As *policy* makers, arts educators, in the U. S. at least, are somewhat unique among their teacher peers in schools in that that do enjoy a greater degree of autonomy over program policy, and can -- more than the average math, science, or English teacher at least, begin initiatives independently, garner administrative and community support, effect change, and, as we shall learn, influence *local* policy.

As I argued at the Research In Music Education (RIME) conference at the University of Exeter, United Kingdom in April 2009, our music education research community is sorely in need of applied research models employed by our counterpart colleagues in educational research and in the natural and physical sciences. If we ever expect to make meaningful and effective links between research and practice, applied research models - characterized by their situated timing of field research *during* paradigm 'shifts' in the field, need to inform policy by *studying* practice, not just prescribing it, as we in 'higher' education are too often too quick to do. Policy development divorced from studied practice is sure to fail. What we gain from applied research which documents and records teachers' actual practice are answers to the simple question, "What works?" What we learn is *how* creative and committed music teachers negotiate demographic shifts in student populations, rise to meet the artistic

challenges of available new musical genres, and, by so doing, *enable* more students to make more music.

While the research reported herein does not test a single ensemble program model, *per se*, its survey and analysis of like-minded models among teachers in diverse settings across the U.S. identifies features and philosophies which might eventually lead to an applied research initiative aimed at producing music-ensemble program structures and policies flexible enough to adapt and/or replicate these experiences in other schools and communities.

**Sample**

Today's report combines the 2007 data from four pilot cases with new data from eight additional cases, bringing the total sample to twelve ensembles from ten states (Texas, Utah, Pennsylvania, Georgia, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Nevada, Oregon, Kentucky, Minnesota) and one American International School. Added to the 2007 cohort of an elementary recorder consort in an urban Massachusetts city, a country/bluegrass ensemble in a rural Kentucky high school, an elementary marimba ensemble in an affluent Washington suburb, and the system-wide secondary mariachi program in Clark County-Las Vegas Nevada are now: two high school fiddle ensembles from Flemington, New Jersey, and Fulton County Georgia; one high school rock ensemble from Irving, Texas, and one high school steel pan 'orchestra' from Redwood Falls, Minnesota; a middle school handbell/handchime choir and a Fife & Drum corps from Hamburg and York, Pennsylvania, respectively; a middle school percussion ensemble from Salt Lake City, Utah; and one elementary Javanese gamelan ensemble from an American International School in Indonesia. The sample of twelve was garnered through a snowball referral technique which began with an emailed request to graduate students enrolled in Boston University's graduate music education programs, asking for music teacher-

alternative ensemble director contacts, Inquiries continued until a sufficiently diverse representation of genres, states, and grade levels was gathered (Creswell, 2009).

The longevity of the twelve ensembles' tenures ranges from three to thirty eight years: five having existed from three to nine years, five from ten to fifteen years, and two for sixteen and thirty-eight years. The sample includes three elementary, three middle school, and six secondary ensembles. Enrollment sizes of the twelve groups range from five to thirty-five members, with the exception of the systemic secondary Mariachi program in Clark County which involves over two thousand children in grades seven through twelve.

**Data Collection and Analysis**

Analyzing new data from an additional sample of eight schools and communities allowed me to begin to test, confirm or re-examine issues identified in the 2007 pilot study. I again asked for a brief description of the ensemble's formation and history, being especially interested in *why* the ensemble was started. I then investigated issues of practice and policy that had emerged from the original sample. I wanted to know how, by whom, and at what level policy decisions had been made in each of the situations. The respondents were asked about the status of their ensembles relative to other, more traditional, ensembles in their school environments, and how the non-traditional ensembles were viewed and received among the music faculty, administration, and community. Four policy issues, each of which had emerged in the pilot interview data (Colley, 2009) were designated as question topics. Specifically, I investigated: a) the extent to which **participation** in the program was equitable or competitive, b) the extent to which the **definition of musicianship** was physical/kinesthetic/aural or notation-dependent, c) the extent to which the **cultural aesthetic** of the music was congruent, i.e. familiar or foreign, to the ensemble members, and d) the

extent to which the **design of the program** was the idiosyncratic effort of one individual or was assured to be sustained over time, regardless of personnel changes.

Teachers in the second round of data collection answered an emailed survey of seven open-ended questions at their leisure, using as much time and space as they chose, and were invited to supplement the survey data with documents, artifacts, recordings, website addresses, etc. The survey data was corroborated neither by student and administrator interviews, nor by site visits, but all respondents were available for telephone interviews. Seven of the participants consented to dissemination of this research with full disclosure of their names and identifying information; the respondent from an American International School in Southeast Asia is represented by a pseudonym, with permission. All of the quotes, which follow, were received on emailed questionnaires from these music teachers in the spring of 2009.

## Results

On certain characteristics and issues, the 2009 data confirmed findings from the original four case interviews two years prior; in other cases, issues required additional demarcations and/or subtle changes in interpretation.

## Participation

I had predicted, based on the pilot sample, the same dichotomous participation policy distribution, previously explained by the directors' motivations of either insuring equity of access or auditioning for excellence, but the additional eight respondents reflected policies that embraced gradations in between. Within the entire sample, participation access runs the

gamut in degree from entry-level *Equity*… to mid-level *Exposure* … to high -level *Excellence*. Having shifted from the traditional K-12 music program paradigm of 'entry' being focused in elementary schools, and advanced excellent ensembles residing only in high schools, open-access 'entry-level' ensembles, like Kent Nelson's middle school (world) percussion class, Christine Ryan's middle school hand bell and hand chime choir, and Kristofer Olsen's middle school feeder steel pan program for his 'Pandemonium' high school ensemble are open to all students interested. Jody Smith's gamelan ensemble in an International school is unique in that all students are required to participate from kindergarten through fourth grade, but only play publicly as an ensemble in grade four.

Michael D'Spain's rock n roll ensemble *started out* with access opened to all, and then, due to its popularity but lack of additional staff to direct additional ensembles, had to adopt an audition policy to limit participation. Interestingly, Christine Ryan did the reverse. Originally she only allowed members of her select concert choir to ring bells. Regarding the policy change she said:

> As for who decided this, it was me. I always have felt that ringing bells was a privilege for my choir members, but, 12 years later, I think that if a student has an interest in ringing but not singing, they should still have that opportunity. Beginning in 2009-2010, I will find room for these students in one of the choirs.

Sheldon Fisher developed his 'Fiddle Team' in Fulton County, Georgia to 'expose' students to styles beyond the Western orchestral canon but his participation policy grants access only to students enrolled in their school orchestras. However, students outside the orchestra are allowed in if they play non-traditional instruments such as guitar, banjo, mandolin, drum set and piano, which, as is typical, the school music program does not offer. The policy was not without controversy amongst the music faculty:

> Originally, the department chair wanted this to be a select auditioned group. However, my past experience taught me that students who desire and want this type of music experience have a tendency to shy away from auditioned groups as

> many of them see this as a highly competitive situation. Their interest is not in competition, but in enjoyment of performing alternative styles of music.

At the end of the continuum are the cases of Richard Worley and William Magalio, whose Fife & Drum Corps and select 'Fiddle Club,' respectively, are accessible by audition only, and only to students who have studied violin, or drum and fife, respectively, in their curricular school music program.

**Musicianship**

On the second policy question of musicianship the pilot sample had split evenly between philosophies stressing either aurality *or* music reading, each exclusively. Again, answers from the 2009 sample did not polarize as the pilot sample had, but ranged in degree between the two positions. At one extreme, is a commitment to cultural authenticity embraced by Jody and the music faculty at her American school in Southeast Asia where gamelan is taught by rote as it traditionally would be among the native Indonesian population. So, in Jody's case one *mustn't* 'play from' notated music, even though the music is archived in notated formats. The transmission of the music is directly aural to kinesthetic. Music teachers in her school resort to formal analysis with the children only when the aural-to-kinesthetic process fails.

Four of the other seven ensemble directors subscribe to mixed rote-note philosophies, but with differing rationales. Since, in Michael D'Spain's rock and roll ensemble, his purpose is '…to get kids into the music program regardless of their previous music education,' previous reading ability has no bearing on access and entry. However, he explained:

> We teach the group to be functional musicians in pop/contemporary genres. We want our kids to be able to navigate charts and also create their own charts. In all honesty, aural skills more often than not come in handier than reading skills.

Similarly, Kent Nelson wrote of his junior high school percussion ensemble:

> Experience has taught me that by junior high, many students who do not read music really do not want to learn to at this point in their lives. But they DO want to participate and perform. I do not need to list all the famous musicians who did not read music, so I see no need to overemphasize this skill. Yet, learning to read music is encouraged and taught in the ensemble class, but not graded heavily. Aural skill is a valued skill if a student cannot read music. Because of the nature of the music in this ensemble, independent hand (and feet, in some cases) coordination and a strong sense of rhythm are overriding skill considerations above the manner of how a student processes the musical information.

Sheldon Fisher, who has developed and directed alternative string ensembles for over twenty years, reported that even though most selections are notated students are encouraged to get 'off music' as soon as possible, and aural skills are emphasized over music reading. He explained:

> I have attended jam sessions and studied with experts of 'alternative' style strings to learn the benefits derived from this type of ensemble playing. Over 25 years I have observed that the skills learned in this type of group contribute to a student's confidence not only in their playing skills but also in personal interaction skills …Students are sensitive to each other's skill level and work with each other before and after rehearsal as well as setting up time outside of the rehearsal, and away from the building.

Interestingly, Richard Worley followed the *opposite* path – from aurality *to* notation. It was after spending a week with the professional Colonial Fife and Drum Corps in Williamsburg, Virginia that he became convinced of his group's need to move beyond "memorizing fingerings" to a greater emphasis on musicianship and traditional note-reading.

For the final two respondents, music reading in their ensembles is a 'must.' In William Magalio's *Fiddle Club*, music literacy is essential to learn the nearly 100 pieces of repertoire, which includes "bluegrass, Celtic, Klezmer, gypsy, strolling strings, and Swedish." And Christine Ryan explained the unique hunt-and-peck technique of bell choir musicianship:

> It is truly teamwork to make a song happen, since one student's pitches are not reproduced by any other student. Rhythm reading skills are especially important,

> since bell choir music looks essentially like piano music, and each student must find his/her own pitches and figure out when to ring them, and when to damp them…

**Cultural/Aesthetic Congruence**

Respondents were asked to describe and explain the extent to which the cultural aesthetic of the ensemble is familiar or foreign to that of the student population majority. In the 2007 sample of four, two of the teachers,- those founding the country music ensemble in Kentucky and the mariachi program in Las Vegas, had done so with the *expressed purpose* of making a cultural match between music ensemble and cultural background of the student population.

In analyzing cultural congruence issues among the eight new respondents in the sample, it was necessary to separate the familiar-to-foreign continuum question into issues of instrumentation and repertoire, since one did not necessarily align with the other in the second cohort. Of the eight ensembles, the two fiddle groups' directors founded their ensembles in order that students stretch beyond the Western classical canon toward new styles of *repertoire* on instruments already familiar. Another five teachers founded ensembles using *instruments* not normally accessed in school music programs, e.g. hand bells, colonial fifes & drums; drums from foreign countries, the Javanese gamelan, and steel pans from Trinidad, but these ensembles' repertoire is not necessarily traditional to, nor congruent with, the culture of the instruments' origin, nor the culture of the current student population. (In two cases, ensemble size was an additional motivation, the desire being to have a small 'touring' ensemble to respond to community performance requests.)

Of the eight ensembles in this 2009 sample, only one - Michael D'Spain's rock ensemble at McArthur high school, could be said to have been a purposeful attempt at cultural congruence, as the country music and mariachi programs had been in the 2007 sample. 'M5'

was founded to play musical repertoire and instruments that both, as he says, 'speak to these kids.' The group's collective tastes in music determine the repertoire performed, i.e., the vocals and instrumentation are determined by particular members in any given year – which can include bass, drums, keyboards, synthesizers, horns, guitars, percussion, singers, or rappers.

**Program Design**

When the 2007 cohort members were asked what future prospects existed for the four ensemble's continuance should the current director depart, two were doubtful, one was hopeful, and only one confident that the group would be sustained, the latter being Marcia Neel, the (now former) director of the systemic secondary mariachi program begun in Las Vegas' Clark county School system. This also tended to be the trend in the 2009 sample. On a continuum of program sustainability ranging from the *sole passionate driving force-teacher/director* to a s*ystemic* commitment to the ensemble, among eight directors, only one - the Javanese gamelan ensemble at the American school in Indonesia, reported a systemic commitment, similar to Las Vegas' mariachi program. While this situation could be viewed as an anomaly of location and instrumentation, it is nonetheless noteworthy that the gamelan ensemble has achieved sustenance and status within that school's music program *because* it is embedded into the general music curriculum. Facility on gamelan is required of music teachers, and professional development is provided for them *as a matter of practice, structure, and policy.* When asked about relations between the ensemble and the rest of the music program, Jody reported:

> The gamelan is of separate, but equal status with band, strings, and vocal ensembles. It certainly holds equal, if not more important, status, however, as it is required for all students in K-4. Each elementary music teacher has a rotation in

> the gamelan room during the year lasting 7-8 weeks, during which time each of her/his music classes spends about 45 minutes in the gamelan room every three school days.

Replies from the other seven respondents describing sustainability prospects ranged from possible to doubtful. As Michael D'Spain said of his rock ensemble:

> I do not know that music colleges are developing choral music educators or instrumental educators who could successfully take this rock ensemble over if I was to leave. I am hoping that someone from within the group will graduate from college soon, and come back to take over.

The necessity of relying on student leadership to compensate for ill-prepared teachers was echoed by steel pan director Kristopher Olsen, who said

> I am headed to a doctoral program in the fall…The new director does not have any experience with steel pans and is understandably apprehensive about taking over. The students are talented enough to teach a director the technical issues to step in and lead…When I made my decision to go back to school; I had a discussion with the students about the importance of their role in the transition. I am confident that they will make sure the program continues.

Even amongst the doubtful, it was noteworthy that *all* of their ensembles enjoy high status within their communities. Whether this signals a disconnection between student ensembles that communities *value* and those that teacher preparation programs prepare music teachers to *deliver*, is an issue worth pursuing. Despite the dim prospects for future sustenance reported by these directors, the future picture is not entirely clear. The very presence of the 'odd ensemble' itself, in fact, does sometimes, shift attitudes among music faculty peers. As Christine Ryan noted, when reporting the discomfort that exists among her colleagues over the administrative and community support and popularity that her bell choir enjoys:

> Interestingly, the middle school band director, after many years of my suggesting that there is interest in the student population to make music, but not in the traditional band setting, is thinking about beginning a drum ensemble. The conversation that revealed this happened only a week ago.

And moreover, even *within* the minds of these directors of alternative ensembles *themselves*, such paradigmatic attitudinal transformations are occurring as a result of *them* having

breached traditional role models of music making and musicianship. They have, so to speak, acted their way into a new way of thinking.

Wrote William Magalio, who founded his Hunterdon Central fiddle club as a select co-curricular orchestra ensemble:

> I do not consider the fiddle club to be too much in the way of 'alternative' music, because there still is a strong base of traditional music education with the students performing in it. I can't imagine this group being able to work without that basis, but I am willing to admit that anything is possible. It would be very interesting to see if my sending districts were to make a change towards using alternative music as a primary method of ensemble music education, how the fiddle club would evolve…

I close with William Magalio's speculation because I find the analogy of evolution in the natural sciences with transformation in the music education profession useful. Just as animals and plants have their origin in other preexisting species and types, and just as distinguishable differences are due to modifications in successive generations, musical ensembles programs will, probably, evolve over time. I hope to have demonstrated that conducting research on transformative practice *elected by music teachers*, which is then used toward the expressed purpose of developing applied research models to enable diverse ensemble programs in schools to grow, is inextricably linked to music education policy development which furthers improvements and sustenance of music programs in schools.

We researchers would do well to identify and showcase in our research agendi teachers who take initiative to – returning to Jorgensen, 'repudiate and jettison,' – especially *while* serving as cultural curators who 'affirm and transmit.' In so doing, the research community could enable and support additives and alternatives which generate discussions at the local school level which, in turn, can influence policy development at the community, district, state, and national levels. Ultimately, this could produce policies that are substantively, and accurately, informed by practice.

The next steps in the research agenda begun herein are to synthesize data from these eight new ensembles with the original four, and to continue the sample's snowball expansion, with the ultimate goal of developing an ensemble structural model to pilot-test in school systems. The model's features would accommodate differences in school sizes, populations, cultures, and resources, so that both music making opportunities and music making *styles* will be on the rise in U.S. schools.

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# A Process of Change in the Teaching and Learning of Traditional Music Performance in Ennis, Co. Clare 1961-1980

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*Abstract*
Ennis, Co. Clare is now considered to be one of the principal strongholds of traditional Irish music practice in the world. However prior to 1961, the music practice in the town appears to have been limited to a few musicians, many of whom had roots in rural areas. A history of unbroken effective teaching has contributed to this transformation since then. This paper addresses the emergence of the formalisation of the transmission of traditional music through educational means i.e. the setting up of the first institutionally led class in 17/4/1961. I will examine the conditions which led to it; looking at the ideological foundations which underpinned the introduction of this formal structure, focussing principally on the institutional bodies through which it occurred; namely the Clare Vocational Education Committee and Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann. Since then there has been a steady increase in the number of and the diversity of class contexts in order to meet the demands of growing student numbers and the broader changes in society. I will trace the connections between it and subsequent classes in Ennis and its hinterland, considering how it contributed to the reshaping of the identity of Ennis, from being a place largely devoid of traditional music to becoming a place internationally known and recognised as a major hub of the tradition.

## Introduction

What prompted me to do this research in the first instance was an awareness that the town of Ennis, Co Clare in the West of Ireland, which had very little traditional music performed in it in the 1950s, changed in the space of a couple of decades into a place that is now a recognised international site for traditional Irish music. It is now possible to hear traditional music performed every night of the week at informal pub sessions and at other venues. Moreover, traditional Irish music is now such an integral part of the fabric of the town's culture that for many people it is difficult to imagine a time when it was not popular here. Perhaps it is not surprising therefore, that for the past ten or fifteen years a considerable number of traditional musicians from all corners of the world have been attracted to living here. Prior to 1961 however, music practice in the town appears to have been limited to a few musicians, many of whose roots were in rural areas. The decades which followed provide confirmation of a momentous development in teaching, which was highly influential in the transformation.

In this paper I address the emergence of the formalisation of the transmission of traditional music through educational means i.e the setting up of the first *institutionally* led class in 17/4/1961. I examine the conditions which led to it, looking at the idealogical foundations which underpinned the introduction of this formal structure. I focus principally on the institutional bodies through which it occurred; namely the Clare Vocational Education Committee –abreviated to (VEC) and Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann(CCE), commonly referred to as Comhaltas.

This class was particularly significant in that it was one of the first structured classes for the teaching of traditional dance music to be recognised by the Department of Education outside of Dublin and Cork.[1] Since then there has been a steady increase in the number and

diversity of class contexts, to meet the demands of growing student numbers and changes in society. I trace the connections between it and subsequent classes in Ennis and its hinterland.

What are the factors that have led to this phenomenon? In particular, what conditions have contributed to this largely *rural pursuit* becoming established in an *urban setting*? It is my contention that the unbroken record of effective teaching, since the first traditional music class commenced under a combined VEC/CCE Scheme in the town in 1961, has been central to this development.

**Ennis - a town in transition.**

The 1950s; the period leading to the first formal class for traditional music; was a very exciting decade in County Clare. The post war depression of the 1940s and early 1950s was starting to ease. This had been an era of vast emigration from Clare particularly working class citizens of Ennis. Musicians from all areas of the county migrated, chiefly to the large urban areas of Great Britain and the US.

However, during the 1950s Ennis began to industrialize and factories were built in the town. The Lemass Whitaker plan had already been implemented in the 1950s, which culminated in a Programme for Economic Expansion in 1958. This included many incentives to attract foreign investment to Ireland. In 1959 Shannon Development was formed, its remit being to promote the Midwest region. It was instrumental in the rejuvenation of the area both in terms of industry and tourism. By the 1960s there was an increased sense of optimism and confidence in the Midwest particularly following the emergence of Shannon Airport Duty Free Zone in the early 1950s. A new planned town and an industrial estate were built in Shannon and other factories were built in Ennis and other places. Even though unemployment had been a major problem in Clare, rural electrification (1947-1979), the opening of Shannon

Airport and the locally available technical training through the VEC for prospective industries combined, led to a sense of optimism and confidence for the future. The appearance of urban Ennis began to change. The demolition of the many laneways of the town began and the families were relocated to new housing estates. People (many of them traditional musicians) began moving in from the countryside and returning home from abroad, which in turn had an impact on traditional music itself.

The VEC, whose role and mandate was to bring educational opportunities to areas and to people who would not have had them, recognised the changes as an opportunity and cooperated fully with businesses who sought their support. The schools developed many new courses and introduced new subjects. From the earliest stage the local communities had a vested interest in the development of these schools, and from the 1950s on, there was an increase in the interaction between the local communities and the schools. Most local events, whether educational or recreational – for example, lectures, demonstrations, cultural events, debates and so on - emanated from the schools.

In addition, since the composition of the Committee was primarily based on elected members of the County Council, the ethos of the VEC was reflective of that of the Government. For example, the Irish language had a prominent position, in that, as far as it was possible, the business of the Committee meetings was carried out 'as Gaeilge' or in Irish. However, this did not extend to music and the arts in general. The arts were not a serious contender for inclusion on the curriculum of the schools in County Clare until the 1960s. In fact there was no permanent appointment of a music teacher here until the late 1970s.

Two significant events occurred in Ennis in the 1950s: firstly the 'An Tostal Festivities' was initiated in the early '50s. In the Clare Champion (the weekly newspaper for the county) dated January 1953 there was an announcement regarding an 'Ireland-at-Home' festival, which was to start on April 5th. This was a weeklong countrywide festival to include:

> … pageants, games, marches, military and other displays, musical festivals, decorative effects, drama, horse jumping and a number of other features. (Clare Champion January 3rd 1953)

This was the first mention of An Tóstal; a national event to promote tourism through Bórd Fáilte and to improve the economy and increase prosperity. It also gave a significant boost to morale throughout the country. This was followed by the first Fleadh Cheoil in Ennis in 1956.[2] The event attracted musicians from all corners of Ireland.

**Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann**

Although Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann was formed in 1951 for the promotion of Irish traditional music,[3] it did not start in County Clare until 1954. Its principal focus in the early years was on the preservation and revival of a tradition that was generally considered to be at in decline. This was done initially through the promotion of music through organising sessions.[4] In the opinion of many the same pressure was not in County Clare for musicians to be brought together in this way. Locally there was a lot of musical activity and in addition, at a time when very few people owned a car, Seán Reid a musician from County Donegal who moved to Clare when he was appointed as an engineer with Clare County Council, began to organise sessions, bringing musicians from the East and West of the county together.

Following the excitement of An Tóstal in the early 1950s and the success of the All-Ireland Fleadh Cheoil in Ennis in 1956 there was an increased optimism in County Clare but particularly in the town of Ennis. In terms of traditional music there was a creative energy and buoyancy. Clare musicians had been particularly successful at the Fleadhanna Cheoil and many of them were becoming well known through radio broadcasts, particularly those of Ciarán MacMathúna. There was only one Branch of CCÉ in Clare until March 1958, when a new Branch was formed in Ennis.[5] Although there were plenty of sessions and regular

concerts held, there was a consciousness during this period that young people were not being attracted to the music.

> There was a gap. I was 21 in 1960.... 10 years younger than the likes of JC Talty and Michael Falsey. Willie Clancy was about 25 years older.... I suppose we all knew that we weren't bringing the young ones with us at that stage. (Interview with Séamus MacMathúna, January, 2007)

Although discussions had taken place within CCÉ at national level at an early stage around the issue of training teachers to teach Irish music, it wasn't until the approach by members of the Clare Branch of CCÉ to the VEC in the late 1950s that anything formal happened. Because the VEC committee were aware of its mission within the Community they responded and by 1961 the first CCÉ /VEC class was established. Over time CCÉ began to develop and new branches were established throughout county, the country and in due course also internationally.

**The First Class for Traditional Irish Music**

The organisation CCÉ had already built up a relationship with the VEC having received much support from them during events such as the All Ireland Fleadh held in Ennis in 1956. On 6/10/1959, Sean Reid, secretary of Comhaltas in Clare, approached the VEC and on his recommendation Jack Mulkere[6] was appointed to teach in Ennis. This class began on 17/4/1961. Classes were held on two nights per week and were attended by 30 students for the violin classes and 28 for the 'flageolet'.[7] Jack continued to teach in Ennis for many years. In addition, following a request from Fr Minogue, he also began teaching in Crusheen, his local Parish. Initially it was started as '… an experiment on not more than two evenings a week' (VEC Minutes 3/3/1962 Item 31). Even though there was not an actual VEC school in

Crusheen the Committee began an outreach scheme here which was to lead to similar developments in four other villages throughout the County.

By 1969 there were six music teachers being employed by the VEC throughout the County- four of them teaching traditional Irish music. However, of a total of over 800 hours of music tuition only 186 were for the teaching of traditional music while the remainder were Western Art music i.e. music appreciation and choral work. However, by 1970 the allocation had improved and of the paid 1,449.75 hours of music teaching, 728 were for traditional music. By 1972 there were classes held in Ennis and in eight more centres. In 1973 the VEC, following a request by Comhaltas, agreed to increase the number of centres in the county to eighteen provided that the fees covered the cost of the teacher. Although the classes for traditional music continued to flourish the VEC involvement in them decreased over time.[8] Comhaltas became more active and musicians themselves become more actively involved in teaching.

**Cois na hAbhna**

Between 1978-1983 Cois na hAbhna, the headquarters for Comhaltas in Clare, was built in the Ennis. It became a centre for the teaching and learning of music not only for the people of Ennis but also the larger community of County Clare. It was the primary reason that this particular association with VEC came to an end.

During the 1970s new teaching spaces emerged. In the late 1970s Kilfenora born fiddle player Gus Tierney established classes in the Maria Assumpta Hall, a parish hall. Similarly, fiddle player, Vincent Griffin taught for many years at the Greengrove, a pub in the outskirts of the town.

One of the major spin-offs of the VEC/ CCÉ classes was that the many school teachers who attended these classes passed on what they had learned to their own student e.g. at Toonagh National School through the school principal Frank Custy, a past pupil of Jack Mulkere. Many of these teachers established school bands e.g. as increasing numbers of young musicians attended St Flannan's College Fr Hogan saw the opportunity to set up a céili band. Teachers in many other schools followed suit.

There were also a number of musicians who began teaching privately form their own homes. The majority of these began as a result of a demand from pupils for more individual attention and were generally small class groups or sometimes one to one tuition. Up to late 1970s music teachers in Ennis taught whatever instruments students brought to class regardless of whether they played them or not. However, as pupils became more interested and maybe more competitive they looked for more focused tuition. This led to a demand for individual classes e.g. Eamonn Cotter was the first to teach flute and tin whistle from his home in Ennis, similarly with Michael Butler who taught the accordion.

Music has always been available to students of the local schools in Ennis but in terms of traditional music it was the VECs response to the community, as represented by CCÉ, which led the way in terms of traditional Irish music. In County Clare, because of the number of teachers attending them, these classes led to a change in the musical canon of the local primary schools. Many of the musicians who established classes themselves had a connection with these initial classes held in Ennis e.g. Frank Custy and Fr John Hogan who have influenced many young musicians were themselves pupils of Jack Mulkeres.

**Ennis in the 1970s**

As a native of the town growing up during these significant years I feel I am well placed to trace this transition. My recollection of the 1970s was that it wasn't out of the ordinary to be playing traditional music. This was in stark contrast with the experiences of people in earlier decades. In my view and that of my contemporary 'townies' it was a providential time to be growing up in the town as a traditional musician.

The transformation in Ennis happened during a significant part of my adult lifetime. Furthermore I am part of this account because I am an Ennis 'townie' playing traditional music and, although I did, I did not necessarily have to move outside of the town to learn it. The time was particularly significant in that young 'townies' began playing a music that had been, in County Clare at least, primarily associated with an older generation in rural Ireland.

*Conclusion*

The first formal class of 1961, run jointly by Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann and the Vocational Education Committee, left a lasting impression. It not only created the conditions for other formal classes to follow but over time led to new sites of learning and performance practice. It is interesting that a significant number of Clare musicians have musical links which lead back to the original class in 1961.

Unquestionably the impact of these developments on the life and culture of the Ennis is significant. The town of Ennis during the period which I have focused on was at a crossroads both economically and culturally. Ennis was not unique in this but certainly it would seem that the unique conditions here, led to a response from the community which resulted in an outcome singling it out from other population centres. If conditions had been different I expect Ennis would now be a different place musically.

*Acknowledgment*

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**Endnotes**

[1] Leo Rowsome taught uilleann pipes in the Municipal School of Music in Dublin, as did Micheal O'Riabhaigh in Cork School of Music.

[2] 'Fleadh' means 'a feast of music'. At that time Comhaltas organised one annual fleadh. The 1956 marked the 6th such Fleadh, the first being held in Mullingar in 1951. Nowadays musicians compete in a number of qualifying rounds culminating in the annual Fleadh Cheoil na hÉireann.

[3] There are now 400 branches of CCE in Ireland and abroad. The local branches are responsible to county boards that in turn are accountable to four provincial councils and ultimately a Central Executive Council.

[4] Now the organisation promotes traditional music through teaching, fleadhanna cheoil and other festivals, international concert tours and its magazine Treoir, recordings.

[5] Following this, other branches were formed throughout the county.

[6] From Crusheen, a village a few miles outside Ennis, Jack Mulkere had an established reputation as a teacher of traditional music in his own locality and in South East Galway.

[7] Tin whistle

[8] Other musical genres were supported. In July 1971 George Tweedle was appointed to establish a Brass Band. Clem Garvey, Leonard Sheridan and Kathleen Touhy were also appointed to teach music as a subject within the School Curriculum in Shannon Comprehensive School and in Ennis Vocational School. Other schools were to follow.

# The Socialization of Members of a String Quartet towards their Roles as Musicians

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*Abstract*
The purpose of this study was to investigate the role of others (influential persons) in the socialization process of members of an amateur string quartet. The questions were: who encouraged subjects to become involved with music during pre-college years, college, and post-college years; and, how was the process different from the experiences of music educators in earlier studies? These questions have been tested earlier in a large-scale survey and in a case study setting (1994 and 2007). This study (2008) was done on 4 amateur musicians who played in a string quartet. Using similar research questions for the role of musician from previous investigations, this study will show the part that others played in the developing social roles of the subjects as musicians. According to Regelski (2007), the significance of the amateur musician in musicking deserves the attention of music educators. Often the only difference in an amateur and a professional musician is that the latter is paid (Booth, 1999). In this study, taped interviews were used to gather information about how the beginning and amateur musicians' concept of self has changed over nearly two decades of performing with a string quartet. Who encouraged them to keep playing? What discouragements did they face from others? What factors, such as being paid, and audience response have contributed to their inner concepts of self as a successful musician?

## Introduction

The life-long process of finding our niche within groups of people is known as socialization (Berger and Luckman, 1966; Brim, 1966). It requires common knowledge and skills to function within a group. The earliest and most fundamental impact upon the individual from this process comes during the primary phase (Cooley, 1922) when family members as significant others (Denzin, 1977) provide the individual with a framework from which their later development is analyzed (Brim, 1966). The secondary phase begins as schooling and later training for a specific occupation are added, but the influence from earlier years is maintained and continued (Berger and Luckman, 1966).

In the field of music education, role perception and the ambivalent nature of occupational identity as both musicians and educators has been studied across life cycles (Bladh, 2003; Clinton, 1991; Cox, 1994; Cox, 2007; Harris, 1991; Isbell, 2008; L'Roy, 1984; Roberts, 1990; Roberts, 1993a). From this research, there is evidence that the role of musician develops much earlier than that of educator or teacher (Cox, 1994; Cox, 2007). Family members, especially mothers, were most often mentioned by subjects as important in the process.

### *Previous Research*

In 1994 (Cox), Arkansas music educators were studied. The 310 subjects were asked who influenced or encouraged them towards their roles as musicians and their roles as teachers during childhood, adolescents, college years, and adulthood. Fifty follow-up interviews were conducted from among the 310 subjects. Results showed that parents, especially mothers, were most likely to have influenced subjects to become involved with music and continue during their life cycles. The study showed that there was much support for the role of

musician, early on, in subject's lives, but not for the role of teacher. The development of the role of teacher came later. Earlier studies showed that college music education students consider themselves musicians, but rarely describe themselves as teachers (L'Roy, 1983; Roberts, 1993a).

A qualitative, follow-up study was done in 2007 (Cox, 2007) in which three subjects were asked similar questions to those used in the 1994 interviews (Cox, 1994). Who influenced subjects towards their roles as musicians across their life-cycle, and who was influential towards their roles as teacher? This study showed much of the same results as the first study, that parents and grandparents were key players in the socialization process of subjects towards their roles as musicians. The role of teacher developed much later. The 2007 study differed from the earlier one (Cox, 1994) in that subjects were able to address the *negative* impact that some important people, especially ensemble directors, colleagues, and college level applied music instructors may have had. The more detailed and in depth, face-to-face interviews seemed to make the difference.

What about musicians who are actively engaged as 'amateurs?' Do they have different patterns of socialization? Can they name people in their life cycles who influenced them to play or sing? Is there evidence that the impact of *self* as significant other or influential person is a strong factor?

**Purpose Statement and Definitions**

The present study is an auto-ethnographic approach in that my own reflections, as a member of the group, are a part of the study. The purpose of this study was to investigate the role of others (influential persons) in the socialization process of members of an amateur string quartet. The questions were: who encouraged subjects to become involved with music

during pre-college years, college, and post-college years; and, how was the process different from the experiences of music educators in earlier studies?

The Searcy String Quartet actually has 5 members who play regularly. Only four (two violins, a viola, and a cello) are engaged for each job, but it has been necessary to expand the list of 'substitutes' to try to fulfill the growing number of requests and work within each player's schedules. Hence, there are four subjects in the study besides my own reflections on the data.

Defining the term 'amateur' may be a challenge as it relates to this study. A Thorndike-Barnhart dictionary (Barnhart, 1969) defines amateur as 'a person who does something for pleasure, not for money or as a profession.' Regelski (2007) said that using the term, *amateur*, to suggest a type of student performance that is less than perfect is judgmental. He further states that whatever instigated the 'admiration' of music should be nurtured so that it makes 'life seem incomplete without music.' Subjects in this study began playing their instruments as 'amateurs' by this definition. Playing for pay came years after career decisions had been made, and the money associated with their services was never seen as a major source of income. All of the subjects referred to the pleasure that they derive from the participation in the Searcy String Quartet, and it was for that benefit that they began their association. Thus, the other four subjects, excluding myself, are defined as 'amateur.'

Influential persons are those in the life cycles of subjects who have had an impact on career choices and decisions. In previous studies (Cox, 1994; Cox, 2007) this term and *significant others* have been used. The term, *influential persons,* was chosen for this study to facilitate communication with the subjects.

**Background Information**

In 1992, we formed the Searcy String Quartet. The invitation was extended during a rehearsal for the Homecoming Musical production. We were in the orchestra pit when I invited three of the community members to join me for a weekday rehearsal to organize the ensemble. They eagerly accepted at the time, but a couple of them told me later how they wondered why I would ask them, because they felt inadequate, but also complimented. In 1998, another, more experienced violinist and public school science teacher moved to the community and began playing, regularly, with the group.

You might question my judgment. Why invite two players who qualified as beginners and another who only played on occasions to join me in this project? Wouldn't it be easier to bring in musicians, already trained, from Little Rock or Memphis when we needed them?

My plan was to introduce a wedding repertoire based upon my own arrangements of traditional music and a collection of easier love songs, plus other reception-appropriate pieces that, with some work, the group could play. At the time, we were receiving one or two inquiries each year about a string quartet for weddings. Most of the calls came at times when college students were not in town or were engaged in final exams. The resident musicians were more likely to be available for such. If we 'imported' musicians from Little Rock or Memphis, money was always an issue and rehearsal time was never adequate.

Although I began working with the original three members of the quartet as we prepared music for weddings and receptions, there were other purposes in my mind. We were located in rural Arkansas and I wanted to do my part to encourage others to play stringed instruments. My ultimate goal was to help generate enough interest so that a string curriculum could be added to the music programs in the Searcy Public Schools. The Searcy String Quartet was 1 of the community projects that I initiated to work towards the goal. Our first playing experiences included many receptions and ceremonies on the university campus

for which we received no pay. When we played for our first wedding and the reception that followed, we were paid for our services and that practice has continued.

*Interviews*

Initially, the interviews done with the subjects in this study were taped in a group setting. The quartet travels to and from 'gigs' in one vehicle, and so the tape recorder was passed from one subject to another during the trips. Questions from previous studies (Cox, 1994; Cox, 2007) were modified to fit the subjects in that the role of teacher was not addressed. Subjects were asked to describe how they became involved with music and playing their instrument. They were asked who helped them get started and offered support for playing or singing during childhood and adolescence; college years, and adulthood.

As the results of the first interviews were analyzed, other questions were formulated for clarification and to complete the data. It was necessary to individualize these questions because each subject expressed unique patterns of influence during the earlier sessions. The later questions and responses were done *via* e-mail.

**Results**

The first subject was given the name, Cynthia, for this study. Cynthia is married to a band director. Cynthia's major field of study is biology and she teaches science courses at Searcy High School. As a teenager, Cynthia qualified to play violin in the Texas all-state orchestra, and while she worked in Texas, she played with the San Angelo Symphony. Cynthia moved to Searcy in 1998, six years after the quartet began playing together. Realizing that we needed someone to play viola in my place because I was scheduled to be teaching in Italy

during the spring of 2000, she purchased an instrument and quickly learned to read alto clef. She also began, immediately, to substitute when the other violinists needed relief.

Cynthia said that her grandpa took her to fiddling contests when she was a very young child. She enjoyed the experience because she loved being with her grandpa and also because she was fascinated by the fiddlers. One day she saw a neighbor girl carrying a violin to school. She ran to catch up with her and to ask about it. The girl told her that she would have to wait until she was a sixth grader to take lessons in school. Cynthia reported that she couldn't wait to get home and ask permission. Cynthia received excellent support from her parents and grandparents throughout her early experiences. During adolescence, however, the earlier support and influence shifted.

> I felt somewhat behind in music because of some decisions my parents me and because of other decisions that were out of my control. I wanted, desperately to play in the Lubbock Symphony. I went to one rehearsal and was invited to play for the season, but then found out that my mother was not willing to let me drive to rehearsals across town at night, nor was she willing to take me there regularly. I also thought that everyone who majored in music would have already had music theory before college, and that I was behind in that respect. Theory was not offered in my school, and my request for a transfer to a school where it was offered was denied. My parents made no effort to help me get the transfer except that my mother drove me to the administration building and sat in the car while I went in, alone, to plead my case. My parents were quite glad that the transfer was denied. They would have had to find a way to get me to school across town. I really felt abandoned at that time. It seemed that all the encouragement I had been given at an early age was pulled out from under me. As I look back now, I realize that much of that was my own selfishness coming through. My parents did sacrifice a lot for me. But at the time I needed support the most, I thought it wasn't there. That, along with another major feeling on my part, caused science to be much more attractive to me as a major. You won't like this part, but it was my real feeling at the time, so brace yourself! I had no respect for women orchestra directors and did not want to put myself in that position. The directors whom I respected were men, and, to me, it was a man's field, for that reason, I had no interest in teaching music in school…only in playing or teaching, privately.

Cynthia majored in biology, but played in her college orchestra on a sizable scholarship. She had the following to report about her adult years and those who have influenced her to keep playing.

> I am very blessed with a husband who appreciates my love for playing and has always encouraged me. We got to know each other in an orchestra hall. How great is that? I had to stop playing, regularly, for a few years when we were too far from an orchestra and I knew no one who played a stringed instrument. Mark would keep the boys and let me go practice in his office from time to time so that I didn't feel like I was losing everything I had worked for. That meant more to me than any non-musician could ever imagine. I cannot stand the thought of not playing. I know that the time will come when my hands won't be able to do it any more. I pray that it will be a long time before that happens.

When asked if there had been people who, as an adult, have made it difficult for you to continue to play, Cynthia answered with these words.

> Yes, the rudeness of the first symphony conductor I played for made it very difficult. He was rude to everyone, very condescending attitude. I had little practice time. Anderson was less than a year old, and I was teaching full time. So I always felt inferior to the other players. I played for that conductor for only one year. A few years later, when Mark started playing, I started again. As you know, Charlie was hard to work for, sometimes too, but he really didn't discourage me as much as his wife did. She was extremely difficult for the entire section. We were all relieved when she didn't show up for a concert weekend.

The last question asked what factors contribute to your inner concept as a musician? Is it the money that we are paid, the compliments from the audience, or other things?

> The money is nice, but I really don't play just for the money. I just love to play. Compliments from the audience are also good when they are genuine, but my greatest sense of accomplishment comes when I know that, as a group, we did a good job. Whether it's the HU orchestra, quartet, or symphony.

Subject number 2, Rebecca, plays cello with the quartet. She is married to a retired biology professor who played clarinet in school bands. Rebecca's family of origin was rich with music. Her father taught voice at the college level and led singing at church. Her mother was a former Julliard student, and played piano and violin. Rebecca played piano and sang, as a child, and was mostly taught by her mother. She articulated wonderful support from parents and grandparents for her involvement with music at an early age.

> Yes, my parents were wonderful and encouraging of my early efforts. By age 3 or 4, I could pick out melodies on the piano and soon afterward, added a bass note. Mom taught me to read music and showed me the notes on the piano. She continued to teach me and I practiced 20 minutes a day, usually, and was doing quite well. When I was 12, Dad had a 'nervous breakdown' when my brother was

> diagnosed with a congenital hip deformity which resulted in 3 years of wearing a brace, followed by a primitive hip replacement (he was 12), and constant pain ever since. We also moved 3 times in quick succession. Life, as I had known it, fell apart. I continued to play the 8 or 10 pieces on the piano-some Chopin, Mozart, Beethoven, but had no lessons. I always loved the music in church. Since Dad led singing, I was exposed to mostly the 'good ones,' and they stuck in my mind and still serve me well. I now know that I was very depressed, and the music comforted me.

Rebecca entered college as a music major, but changed to English with a French minor after only one semester. Here are her words regarding this decision.

> School choruses were always a great source of fun for me, and I did sing in the A cappella at Harding. After one semester of majoring in music, however, I knew I couldn't face the recitals.

As an adult in the 1970s, Rebecca became fascinated with the flute and took lessons. She worked hard and played well enough to join the university orchestra's flute section at the same time that her daughter was studying cello. As she watched her teenager drift toward other interests and the cry for string players continue, Rebecca decided to play her daughter's cello. Rebecca's mother was very supportive of it all, and so she began her work on the cello in the 1980s.

Rebecca responded to the question of who encourages and influences you now as an adult musician.

> *Rebecca:* Church music (and church in general), which had been very satisfying, became a huge disappointment in the 1970s. The situation continued to decline. Finally, Robert retired and we found Trinity Parish Church—one of the best things that ever happened to us. On the 'musical note', I was quickly accepted into choir and soon was coaxed (with the help of anti-anxiety and antidepressant drugs) into playing the cello with [the choir director] accompanying on piano or organ. I have even sung duets and trios. Of course, the music is only part of the joy and blessing that comes from finding a wonderful church with warm and welcoming (and encouraging) people; but that's another story. You have been the most constant encouragement in my adult musical experience. Thank you for daring to gather the quartet group and continuing to teach and encourage all of us. Quartet sustained me through years of very little music.

*Patricia:* What factors contribute to your inner concept of self as a musician?

> *Rebecca:* Positive response from others (quartet or orchestra members as well as 'audiences,' means a great deal. I know when I've played well (or not), but good

> comments from others are always gratifying. Being paid for playing came so late in my life that I already enjoyed the experience without being paid. After years of being paid, however, it is an affirmation that I'm actually 'good enough' to be playing 'professionally.' Still, not being paid for choir doesn't diminish the enjoyment to me in any way.

Subject number 3, Jenny, is a registered nurse with a specialty in community health. When the quartet was organized, she was an instructor in the College of Nursing. She is married to a native of White County, Arkansas. In recent years, Jenny has been teaching private violin in our Searcy Community School of Music. She continues to work as a community health nurse.

> *Jenny:* It was my grandmother who had the violin in her attic. She gave it to me, and my dad got it into playing condition and found me a teacher. My mom always enjoyed my playing and would tell others that I played and sometimes would want me to perform! My dad accompanied me for Solo and Ensemble festival when I needed a piano player! Mom took me to my weekly hour-long lesson across town and waited for me or ran errands.

*Patricia:* Did anyone encourage you to major in music during your college years?

> *Jenny:* I did not major in music because I did not feel that I was a good performer or that I would enjoy my music as much if it were a 'job.' I also liked the medical field better as a profession. When I was in college in Nashville, I joined the Nashville Youth Symphony because I missed until after I graduated because there was no extra time for music during nursing school! I played with the Harding orchestra when Trinton was the director. My mom was a nurse! She used to come home and tell me stories about her patients and her work. She was also the camp nurse where we went to church camp.

*Patricia*: In adulthood, who encourages and influences you to keep playing?

> *Jenny:* You are the one who probably kept me in my music since then.
> I think you have encouraged me the most as professional in the music field. Tyler has always encouraged me by keeping the kids when they were young when I was at rehearsal or gigs. He always kids me that I need to learn how to play the 'fiddle.' My parents were always excited that I continued my violin. After my mom got sick, remember how excited she was that we were going to play there. My kids have always thought it was great that I could play the violin. The all took piano lessons and lessons on other instruments.

The only source of discouragement that Jenny described was with *self* because she finds very little time to practice. She finds little challenge in the quartet repertoire and the

private lessons that once gave her an incentive to practice are no longer in place. Family responsibility made it hard, early on, to be a part of a music ensemble.

The fourth subject, Sara, is married to a professor of art. As a young child, Sara can remember no one who encouraged or supported her early involvement with music.

> After pondering my musical background since you wrote and inquired about it, I am quite surprised that I am today playing in and managing a string quartet. I feel that I had very little encouragement before the age of 15. I also had huge gaps in my musical training. One time, I went about five years without playing my violin at all, and another time, I went 17 years without playing. I began playing in either the fourth or fifth grade when I lived on Air Force base housing outside of Wichita, KS. My dad was a career Air Force enlisted man. I do not remember anyone wanting me to choose the violin, but my first experiences were in a group string class at school in either fourth grade or fifth grade or both. I can remember two girls in my string class who played far better than I did and had had previous training. One was a very pretty girl named Ann who played the famous Humoresque piece by—I think—Dvorak and she played it, in my opinion, flawlessly. The other girl was named Cindy and she played very well and had kind of a snooty attitude and said to me, 'if anything is worth doing at all, it is worth doing well.' Neither one of my parents was musical or encouraging. My dad, as I told you before, always offered me a quarter if I would quit practicing. When I mentioned this to my mom sometime in the last year, she surprised me by not taking my side and by saying, 'Sally, you have no idea how awful you sounded those early days!' This, of course, was very hurtful to me. I do remember some private lessons in those early days in the nearby town of Derby, KS, with a young female teacher. My mom was of the opinion that if I had not practiced much that week, then there was no need to go to the lesson at all. So, my private lessons were sporadic and I think it was probably because we could not really afford those lessons. With five little girls and only one income, money was tight.

Sara described her husband's influence and encouragement to keep playing violin in adulthood. They met during college years, or the period that began Sara's 17 years of no violin playing.

> Jesse would encourage me to play during these 17 years, but at some point, my violin had been taken by my mother for some work on it, when I was much younger, and when we picked it up at the music store, the scroll had been broken off and then re-glued. We were never informed of it by the store until we got it home. From that point on, my violin was very difficult to tune. So, when Jesse would want me to play for him, I would struggle to tune the violin and the pegs would keep popping out, and I would give up. Because of the problems with my violin, I was unable to play for Jesse or for my own amusement.

When Sara and Jesse moved to Searcy, Arkansas, Jesse joined the art faculty. The orchestra director at Harding University heard that Sara could play and he invited her to join the orchestra in the fall of 1982. When her new baby was a year old, Sara began playing in the pit orchestra at the university for homecoming musicals. Then, from 1985-1987, Sara and Jesse were in Lincoln, NE for Jesse to complete his Ph.D. in art education. Sara was able to study with the same teacher whom she had during her adolescent years in Lincoln. With student loan money and the teacher's guidance, Jesse purchased a violin for Sara that she treasures and plays with the quartet. It's fair to say that both the Lincoln teacher and husband, Jesse were very influential in Sara's musical involvement as a young adult.

> We spent every lesson both years working on 2 Boccherini duets and most lessons would only cover 2-6 measures, and then we would see if we could put it together with him playing his part and me playing mine. It was exceedingly difficult for me, but I loved it! I wanted to do it to show that I could, and to make Mr. Collins proud of me.

When they returned to Searcy, Sara called the director of the pit orchestra for the homecoming musical to ask if she might play again that fall semester. The director, recalling Sara's earlier playing, was not thrilled about her rejoining, but he allowed it. During one of the rehearsals, in front of everyone, this director said, 'You're playing better now, Sara, much better than before.' Sara felt like he was pointing out to the others how badly she had played. However, she continued for five years to play with the pit orchestra each fall. When I asked Sara to tell me more about why the director's remark 'crushed' her, she said that she was 'guarding' her playing from him because she knew that she was 'over her head.'

> I still remember a beautiful duet that you and the student concertmaster played in *The King and I,* my first pit experience. I was amazed at how beautifully you played, and how you made it seem like nothing.

Sara said that it was during the pit orchestra experiences that I became her musical mentor. Sara said that she appreciated my kindness, encouragement, and reassurance. She said that I made her believe that she sounded better than she actually did.

Sara received support and encouragement from one of her sons. He always wanted people to know that his mother wasn't just a homemaker, that she had a job as a member of the quartet. Sara, herself, wants to keep playing because she had a desire to have a 'sense of identity as one of the string quartet members and not just as Jesse's wife or the mother of her four children.

When the question was put to Sara about who, in their adulthood, not only influences them to keep playing, but also, at times discourages them, she related that one of her good friends told her that she didn't like the kind of music that the quartet plays. Sara felt that her friend should have kept that comment to herself. She also told me about her oldest son as another source of discouragement. Amos is working on a D.M.A. in oboe performance at Ohio State University. He plays very well and seems aloof to his mother's musical endeavors. She said that when our clientele have family members who may not have encountered a string quartet before and give her negative feedback, she feels discouraged.

The last question that I asked the four subjects in this study was what factors, such as being paid and audience responses have contributed to your inner self-concept as a successful musician? All of them said that while the money is good and has been increased over the years, they value the compliments from listeners more and the self-satisfaction that they receive from belonging to the group. The subjects in this study fit the profile for 'amateurs' more closely for the way they responded to this last item.

*Discussion*

Besides the obvious indicators from the subjects about who influenced them to play or sing across their life cycles, they gave me insight into how hard they have worked over the years of our association. Sara and Rebecca described their long hours of practice before each gig, especially in the early years when all of the music was new to them. They both continue to spend a lot of time preparing their parts. I felt humbled in the face of the stories because I never practice our quartet music outside of the regular rehearsals, and, at times, have felt impatient at having to repeat phrases so many times for them. Sara, Rebecca, and Jenny all told me that I play a significant role in influencing them, as adults, to keep playing. Hearing the words from each of them, individually, is yet another humbling experience. I hope that my impatience never showed through to the extent that I might have been a source of discouragement. When I consider my role in the quartet as musical director, the concept involves a lot of teaching. Because two of the three were beginners at the onset, I have assumed the role of a music teacher as we work together. The interaction with Cynthia also involves teaching.

All of the participants spoke about how much the quartet playing experience means to them. They said that, although the money is good, the main reason that they continue to play is for the love of music and the satisfaction that they receive from hearing good comments from clients and from knowing, themselves, that they played well.

My own attitude is different. While I enjoy the association that we have as a group and I am proud of the results, the money seems to be more important to me now than it was at the onset. The repertoire is appropriate, but, for me, lacks challenge. Clients choose similar music and there is little variety. Wedding and reception music is mostly traditional. I see myself as a musician with a job to do. As I recall the financial needs of my family in 1992, it's understandable that I would look for ways to increase my income. Although I needed the

money, I never imagined that our Searcy String Quartet would become so well known and generate as much income for all of us as it has done. In the early 1990s, I was playing with several symphony orchestras in Arkansas and teaching preparatory students. As the work with the quartet increased, it became harder to schedule symphony rehearsals on weekends and quartet gigs. When I think about my own role models and private violin teachers from my childhood, I remember that they taught private lessons in the afternoons after a full day of teaching music and directing school ensembles. In the evenings, they often rushed to symphony or opera rehearsals before they ended their day at 10:00 p.m. They often come to mind when I am rushing from teaching college level classes and private lessons to private lessons for preparatory students, and then to rehearsals or gigs in the evenings and on weekends.

**Summary and Conclusion**

The purpose of this study was to investigate the role of others or influential persons in the socialization process of members of an amateur string quartet. The questions were: who encouraged subjects to become involved with music during pre-college, college, and post-college years; and, how was the process different from the experiences of music educators in earlier studies? Because this is an auto-ethnographic study, my own reflections on the other 4 subjects' responses are a part of the discussions.

Subjects were able to report both positive and negative influence during their pre-college years from influential persons in their families. When compared with results of previous studies, the influence during this crucial time in the life cycle was similar for subjects 1, 2, and 3. However, all of the subjects in the present study reported negative influence from parents or *self* when they were making career choices.

In a comparison of the socialization process of the four interviewed subjects from the point at which they made a career choice by choosing non-music majors in college, to the processes described by subjects in previous studies (Cox, 1994, Cox 2007), there are clear differences. All of the subjects found influential persons and reference groups from other fields of study. They did not have to participate on recitals or meet ensemble requirements to obtain their college degrees. The 'side-bets' (Becker, 1970) that were made by connecting with others in their chosen fields of study and the commitments all related to other endeavors and career goals, outside of music. My own experiences were similar to subjects in previous studies involving music educators (Cox, 1994, Cox, 2007, Roberts, 1990, Roberts, 1991, Roberts, 1993a). Recitals were rites of passage for music majors enrolled in degree programs. By the time that we graduated, there was much invested in becoming experienced performers and music educators. In this study, Rebecca said that she changed her major because she was unable to face the recitals. Other studies (Geer, 1966, Goodlad, 1991, Lortie, 1959, Lortie, 1975, Simpson, 1967) reported evidence that subjects need to be socialized toward their occupational roles during college and post college years so that they come to see themselves as a part of an occupational reference group.

The first subject, Cynthia, could recall parents and grandparents who were happy to support her in playing the violin in the sixth grade, enjoyed all of her concerts and talent shows until she reached adolescence and was seriously considering majoring in music. Cynthia reported the negative and discouraging impact that her parents' lack of support had on her. She also reported negative influence from *self* as she knew that she wasn't good enough to have a career as a concert violinist, and couldn't see herself on the podium as a school orchestra director. Cynthia chose biology as a major during her college years. Cynthia's husband, a practicing music educator and low brass musician, is her main source of support and encouragement as an adult. She expressed her genuine pleasure at playing the

violin and reported that the money she receives is nice, but not the main reason for playing. Cynthia's commitment to music may be stronger than the others because of her husband's involvement. However, she, herself, described her playing more as a hobby, and an emotional outlet.

The second subject, Rebecca, the quartet's cellist, like Cynthia had parents and grandparents who influenced and supported her to learn to sing and play. Her parents were both well educated and accomplished musicians. During her early childhood, when others have the greatest impact on our social frameworks, Rebecca had both support and instruction. Her brother's illness, her father's mental breakdown, and her parents' subsequent divorce were devastating, not only to Rebecca, but also to her family. She turned to previously learned piano pieces and hymns to comfort her. Rebecca entered Harding University majoring in music, but soon changed to English with a French minor when she, herself, decided that she couldn't face recitals. Rebecca surmised that if her father and paternal grandparents had remained closely connected to her as an adolescent and college student, she might have overcome her fear of recitals. She added that she did not see music as a career field for financial support, because she did not enjoy working with children, and therefore did not want to pursue music education as a major. She did, however, enjoy singing in the chorus during college years. In adulthood, Rebecca's mother supported her daughter in her desire to learn to play the flute by purchasing an instrument for her. Later, she switched to cello because of the need for string players. She reported her cello teacher and later, the director of the Searcy String Quartet as mentor. Rebecca, like Cynthia, used altruistic terms when speaking about playing with the quartet.

Jenny, the third subject, like Cynthia, and Rebecca reported a grandmother and her parents as influential persons who encouraged her to learn to play the violin. Jenny loved to play her violin, but she did not consider majoring in music or music education during college

years. Her mother was a nurse, and Jenny could see herself doing the things that her mother told stories about doing in her own nursing career. Jenny wanted to keep playing her violin because she found it to be a genuine pleasure. Although nursing school took most of her time, when it was possible, Jenny played with the university orchestra. Her nursing studies and clinical experiences were her major focus. She was socialized into nursing (Simpson, 1976). Upon graduation, she played, regularly with the orchestra while working as a faculty member in the College of Nursing. As an adult, Jenny found that her parents remained supportive of her playing as a worthy outlet. Her husband and children were pleased that she was a part of the string quartet and orchestras. She also mentioned the director of the quartet as an influential person now that she is an adult, for her role as a musician. Jenny mentioned that teaching violin for the Searcy Community School of Music serves to validate her role as musician in recent years. However, Jenny remains connected to the field of nursing and her main occupation is in health care.

The fourth subject, Sara, indicated a unique socialization pattern when it is compared to the others. She said that no one influenced or supported her in her choice to join a school strings class. She reported negative influence from both of her parents. Although her maternal grandparents seemed to encourage her to practice, they modeled musicianship that was, according to Sara, less than stellar. She never considered majoring in music or music education in college because she said that her violin playing was not done seriously, only for fun. Sara had a very kind and patient violin teacher during adolescence, but he did not impact her career choices. It was only when her husband, Jesse, entered her life that anyone had asked her to play. Even then, it was impossible because of a botched repair job on her violin. Jesse was supportive and purchased a good instrument for Sara, and she was able to reconnect with the same Lincoln, NE teacher from her childhood. Even with intermittent playing and few people to influence her, Sara wanted, very much, to play her violin. She was able to

recall friends and orchestra directors who, as an adult, 'crushed' her with their comments. On the other hand, she was also able to describe the positive influence of the other quartet members and the director. Sara finds that compliments from audiences and bridal families mean a lot to her satisfaction as a musician.

All of the subjects in this study were able to articulate others who had influenced them, across their life cycles to become involved with music and continue to play or sing during their lives. When compared with subjects in previous studies, with the exception of Sara, the results were similar for early childhood. Cynthia, Rebecca, and Jenny were able to name parents and grandparents, even school music teachers, private teachers, and ensemble directors who positively supported their early efforts. Cynthia and Sara reported negative influence during adolescence from their parents, and Sara reported negative influence from parents during early childhood. We know from other studies that early childhood influence is the strongest and remains with us throughout our lives (Cooley, 1922; Berger and Luckman, 1966; Brim, 1966; Denzin, 1977). In previous studies, music educators were able to recall having parents and grandparents who supported them in their early musical experiences. The real commitment seems to be generated from support during late adolescence when subjects were making career choices, during college when occupational socialization begins, and especially later when individuals enter the work force and become socialized within an occupational reference group.

It should be noted that both Cynthia and Rebecca described *themselves* as influencing their choices to major in non-music areas, even with strong involvement with playing and singing during high school years. Rebecca couldn't face recitals and Cynthia couldn't see herself on the podium of a school orchestra setting. None of the subjects considered music performance as a career choice. Therefore, none of the subjects had the influence of college-level music experiences where playing and singing, both solo work and with ensembles, are

requirements for the degree. Their commitment levels to music differ from those of music educators who have faced the formal training and rituals required for graduation.

Groce (1991) studied songwriters and found that the learned social role evolved over time in that songwriters did not decide to become one; rather, they grew into the role. As subjects in his study were able to successfully produce popular songs, they became more closely identified with the social role, especially when they interacted with others in the business. Perhaps the socialization of subjects in this study, excluding myself, may be similar. As the subjects began playing with the Searcy String Quartet, they may have considered it a good thing to do. They expressed their eagerness to accept my invitation to play. However, they could have walked away from the group and little would have changed because, at the onset, there was relatively little commitment. With the passage of years and experience, and the money that they received, the question could be raised about 'side bets' and a growing commitment. However, none of the members rely upon what they are paid for their quartet services to pay their bills.

Although the members of the Searcy String Quartet are technically amateurs, they have taken their involvement with the group very seriously. They are reliable and careful about making the music sound good. All of the subjects report times when they practice long hours to prepare for gigs. Cynthia, Sara, and Rebecca all practice very carefully and often ask the group to help them by repeating a section of the music. Sara, Rebecca, and Jenny have, in the past, scheduled private lessons with the director.

Considering the ensemble members' different backgrounds and occupational socialization patterns, the group works well together. Becker and McCall (1990) said that socialization is a continuous process and that how we define ourselves within a given situation changes, if we want the association to continue. I know that some of my original goals for the quartet involved the inclusion of my college students in the group. Only

occasionally does this happen, successfully. It has been necessary for me to consider the Searcy String Quartet as an entity of its own, and not directly related to my goals as a music educator. From a personal perspective, the conflicts that arise may be explained in the way that I see myself within my occupational reference group that includes a host of other music teachers, ensemble directors, and instructors, from both the past and the present. The other members have their own occupational reference groups, but as amateur musicians, their experiences and commitment levels to music and music education are not as heavily vested as my own. Only through doing this study have I been able to analyze the quartet's social interaction. All of us are members of the same community, and, as adults, we respect each other. Thus, sociological analysis was overlooked until it was done deliberately. The implications from this study should help me, as the director, to adjust my expectations.

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# Lessons from Extreme metal musicians: a perspective from Singapore

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*Abstract*

Despite the processes of learning by popular musicians at a very personal level, there is very little common knowledge or recognition of how popular musicians in general learn or of the attitudes and values they share in relation to music learning. A serious examination of popular music learning practices could provide insights for teaching and learning of popular music as well as to provide lessons in music. Having begun initial studies of a local Extreme Metal group, Rudra, I study two of their songs, 'Malediction' (released in 1995) and 'Ageless Conciousness I Am' (released in 2005). While 'Malediction' revealed the presence of written exiguous notation Rudra members relied on for their recording, the final recording of **'**Ageless Consciousness I Am' revealed two earlier sound recordings. Rudra's exiguous notational system was later supplanted by their reliance from 2000 onwards on recorded sound files as notational systems but accrued significant benefits for the band in the early stages of their learning. By making observations about their songs and lessons learnt when studying an approach to music learning in the practice of Extreme metal music, I revisit epistemological foundations of in/formal learning *through* music.

## Introduction

In her chapter on curriculum discourse, Janet Barrett noted the calls for change in curricular practice along at least four areas:

1. Challenge longstanding views of musicianship and musical understanding including:
    a. More comprehensive views of musical behaviours
    b. A wider array of musical styles
    c. An integrated sense of music as an embodied experience, and
    d. Greater depths of musical understanding
2. Situate the music curriculum as a dynamic social practice;
3. Relate developments in the music curriculum to broad arenas of educational policy that enable or inhibit change; and,
4. Foster views of teachers as primary agents of change in curriculum work. (Barrett 2007, pp. 147-161).

Out of Barrett's rich discourse, I want in this paper to focus on music of popular culture, specifically the musical dimensions which are as follows:

1. Challenging, at an epistemological level, an understanding of music and by consequence its creators, makers and participants. This is implicit in the call for more inclusive views of musical behaviours which are contingent on musical practices which reveal human behaviour in situated contexts (Blacking 1973; 1995).
2. Reinforcing these musical practices as *living practices* rather than *arte/facts of* and *about* musics that have privileged specified persons, places and systems more than others based on unilaterally imposed criteria. Conversely, certain musical practices have not been considered because they are unable to satisfy these said criteria.
3. Concomitantly, as living practices, these musical practices are performed as performative cultures (Dimitriadis 2006).
4. These performative cultures, as embodied and lived experiences, make the musical experience as much a socio-cultural, socio-historical and socio-political experience if not engagement.

5. These musical practices are performed not only in the musical instrumental sense but also re/created by people through a variety of media in the authoring and authorising of their lives (Dimitriadis & Weis, 2007, p.333).

My extrapolations from Barrett's discussions are considered with reflections and assertions on the *performative* in popular music and culture because of the need to contextualise both aspects and situate them in the educational landscape. The presence of popular music in the school-based curriculum is not new and has been dealt with many, most recently by Green's (2002; 2004; 2008) observations of the ways popular musicians learn *informally*. An examination of the nature of changes in the last forty years popular musicians' informal learning practices, attitudes and values could help towards:

- an understanding of popular musicians' experiences in formal music education and the dynamics of these changes; and,
- Exploring some of the possibilities which informal popular music learning practices might offer to formal music education.

Green (2002, p.7) argues that a *serious examination* of popular music learning practices could provide insights for teaching and learning of popular music as well as provide lessons in music.

To begin with, informality seems at odds with convention and *author/ity* of *formal training* translated as prior preparation, systematic training & regulation, and assessment and validation. All these combine to question in popular music the *credibility* in teaching and learning conventions of informal learning processes. Understanding how popular musicians learn should question modes of learning and assessment as well the terms of reference for learning that is said to take place. On the other hand, popular musicians leave little evidence or trace of informal learning to be able to raise to common knowledge, recognition of how

popular musicians in general learn. This contributes to problems in understanding learning processes by popular musicians on their own terms.

For instance, Green (2004, pp.228-236) articulates the ways in which musicians learn through popular musics, which are tabulated below:

- Enculturation
- Listening and copying
- Playing with peers
- Acquiring technique
- Informal acquisition of knowledge of technicalities
- Understanding practising
- Coming to terms with "feel"
- Encountering friendship and cooperation
- Articulation of enjoyment
- Expressions, implicit or otherwise, of self esteem
- Appreciation and respect for "other music"

What seems noticeably absent in this tabulation is the aspect of learning through writing and reading notation. Based on her interviews with musicians in selected genres of popular culture, Green (2002, pp.38-40; pp.206-207) offers an explanation for the *place* of notation in popular music:

1. Instructional status of notation which '…is liable to be thrown away as soon as the instruction is internalized by the musician'. She explains this exigency '…when a musical director or bandleader may hand out their own pre-written charts, or may "scribble" something down and pass it to the musician during the session itself'. It is for this reason notation is further qualified as '… unpublished notation…used in a variety of circumstances'.
2. Mnemonic function '… whereby musicians may prepare themselves for a session after having worked with a demo or other recording, or may write down ideas and instructions for themselves during a session'.
3. Supplement rather than a major learning resource. This she argues is because '… notation [which] includes conventional staff notation, guitar tablature, drum notation and chord symbols … often referred to as "charts" … is always heavily mixed in with aural practices'. If notation by popular musicians possesses currency, it seems to happen '… after the early stages [when] published scores are used only by some function bands and session musicians, some of whom may have sight-reading abilities'.
4. Ambiguous if not ephemeral status as it '… does not have the function of preserving or passing on the music for, as already seen, these practices occur primarily through aural means which pay attention to musical aspects that are not readily notatable. Partly because of this, published

> scores, particularly songbooks on sale in music shops, are usually very inaccurate...musicians who play the songs do not use the scores that are available in shops, so there is no need for the scores to be accurate. This in turn, of course, provides another good reason for avoiding them' (Green 2002, p. 38).

Green's account is instructive in a number of ways. First, consigning instructional status to notation implies a prescriptive, pragmatic and precarious function to notation in popular music learning. While Green is correct to point out the presence of exiguous written instructions, these *practical yet written* instructions merit a much closer scrutiny than being rendered disposable currency. Do we know what these written instructions comprise? Despite their apparent lack of correspondence with the solidified convention of conventional notation, should we not ask why and how are they written? Do such *practical yet written* instructions convey select readership? Would such notation be the same for other forms of popular music?

Secondly, Green's distinction of notation as *un/published* suggests a medium and mode of presentation for commercial consumption. Paradoxically, while Green informs us these published versions are remarkable for their inaccuracy, they are available as commercial products. But the issue of publication does not pursue the question of authorship or authority of such notation. Was such notation intended by its authors for dissemination beyond its intended purpose or possess any value or currency beyond its function? Moreover, might the 'inaccuracy' of notation suggest a convention already familiar in European art music practices of the Baroque period, jazz and certain world music practices of notation as a point of homage and departure on the part of performers or consumers of this convention? Moreover, the equating of published scores with sight-reading abilities seems to transpose expectations of trained musicianship in reading conventional written symbols and signifiers onto *situated* written conventions.

Thirdly, notation is considered a supplementary rather than a major resource in its contribution towards music-making; rendering notation's subservience to aural and oral

processes evident in popular music. Yet it is accorded mnemonic function. Memory aids are not only visual but are also embodied through the aural and oral acuity so often prized by musicians in music-making activities such as rehearsal, copying and exploring. Might notation not be regarded with *more* than supplementary status in relation to facilitating muscular, oral and aural memory?

Fourthly, gleaned through her interviewees, Green is probably correct in her observations about the nature, role and function of notation in the learning, copying and assimilating of pre-existing popular music repertoire. But Green's focus on informal learning processes in popular music seems to concentrate more on *re-creative* than *creative* endeavour. How might notation be understood, applied and practised among musicians creating their own compositions in a genre of their choice?

In this paper, I study two original compositions by Rudra, an Extreme (Death) metal band from Singapore; 'Malediction' (ca.1993/4) and 'Ageless Consciousness I Am' (2005). This group began their creative endeavour with 'written details' I call exiguous notation. I focus my attention on one of their early songs 'Malediction' (ca.1993/4) observing the sonic processes (pitches, riffs, power chords, vertical sonorities, etc.) and structures emergent from the recorded example. I also observe the correspondence between Rudra's attempt/s towards recording this song through their use of exiguous notational system (Rudra e-communication 2008). This exiguous notational system was later supplanted by Rudra's reliance from 2000 onwards on recorded sound files as *notational systems*. 'Ageless Consciousness I Am' is preceded by two such prior tracks or rehearsals. I observe these two 'instances' of this work and compare them with the final version. Finally, through these two songs, I assess in/significance of notation for *Rudra* from the formative years to the recent present (Rudra, personal communication with K. Kathirasan, July 2008).

Documentary evidence of Rudra's repertoire may be found in five CD releases (*Rudra*, 1998; *Aryan Crusade*, 2001: *Kurukshetra*, 2003; *Brahmavidya Primordial I*, 2005; *Brahmavidya Transcendental I*, 2009), a three-song release (*The Past* 1995) and original material written as early as 1993 and 1994. Their praxis has also been supplemented by multiple interviews with local and (more) international maga- and e-zines. The Rudra website www.rudraonline.org indicates no less than ten international performances albeit considerably fewer local events (highly profiled or otherwise).

**Methodology**

My initial searches, by word of mouth network, were eventually supplanted by an electronic network when I met K. Kathirasan of Rudra on the internet. Any attempts to schedule interviews with the group proved difficult partly because of conflicting times, and also fuelled by a sense of wariness. When their confidence was won and with bassist/vocalist K. Kathirasan acting as group spokesperson (with consensus from other members), I was able to obtain information through personal contact and e-mail exchanges, some of which could be corroborated by e-documentation available on Rudra's website alongside information from other media. Moreover, the use of e-contact and correspondence enabled me to receive more articulate and considered views about their practice. In 2008, I was granted access to their collection of privately held materials. Sustained e-contact and personal interviews with K. Kathirasan, as custodian of these materials, resulted in richer discussions about their use of notational systems in relation to their practice in the formative years as well as a number of sound files of 'earlier takes' of songs recorded after 2000.

Out of their collection of materials, I was able to select two songs, 'Malediction' (ca.1993/4) which was released in 1995 because of the presence of written notation leading up

to the recording. Of the sound file recordings, 'Ageless Conciousness I Am' (released in 2005) was available in two prior versions which enabled me to observe the pathways of the song to the final recording; in fact the only recording thus far from Rudra to exist in two earlier forms. Rather than attempt to transcribe the materials, I have presented some of the ideas in a form that they have chosen – upper case pitch names in order to present them in their *authentic* written reality together with the *recorded sound*.

**'Malediction'**

One of Rudra's early songs 'Malediction' (ca.1993/4) appeared in a cassette tape release, 'The Birth', in 1994 and later in a 1995 four-track release called 'The Past'. K. Kathirasan provides some background information on some of the pathways leading to the recording of the song:

> This song was written with disgust for people in general…just dislike people telling us how we should live and religions telling us to live a certain kind of life. And these people did more evil to us by preaching than living their own lives or letting us live our lives. Every other day when we left our jamming place, the police would stop us and check our id [identification cards]…screening with a stern face while we would laugh at them just to irritate them because we have always been clean. There had never been any form of test [random urine testing for suspected narcotic substance abuse]…Just that we would be stopped every time a police car passed by us in the neighbourhood. And the public would watch us as though we were criminals because we wore black all the time…those were the days…. (e-communication with K. Kathirasan of Rudra, 2009).

'Malediction' survives in *notated* form in these three representations,

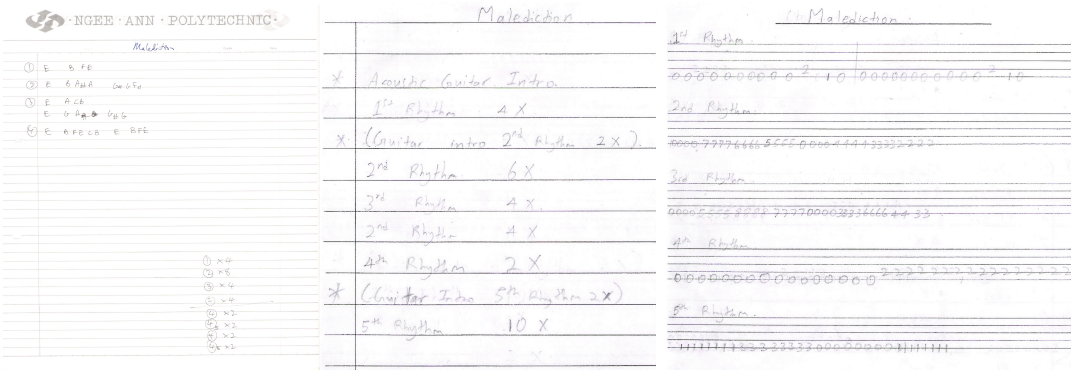



Figure 1, Exiguous notation by K. Kathirasan and M. Balasubramaniam for 'Malediction' – courtesy of Rudra

According to Kathirasan, '… the first two were written by Bala our guitarist. The 2nd [tablature] notation was written by me'. (e-communication with K. Kathirasan of *Rudra*, 2009). The riffs exist in two versions; letter names and guitar tablature written on A4-sized paper with a title-logo 'Ngee Ann Polytechnic' and another in an A5-sized exercise book. The A4 version seems to be an earlier draft; depictions of letter names seem to correspond to the recorded version less than the letter name version in the exercise book. Additionally, there are numbers attached to the riffs to indicate the number of times the riffs have to be played. From a textual perspective, 'Malediction' has only one verse which is repeated and is interjected by a number of sections separated by riffs. If anything, the song is probably more marked by guitar riffs than the lyrics itself. A brief overview of the structure of the recording of 'Malediction' is presented together with the written riff and tablature notation.

The piece begins with a guitar introduction (1" – 37", tempo □ = 132-138 bpm) comprising arpeggiated figures anchored by an E-pedal and E-centric focus. According to Kathirasan, guitarist Balasubramanian was at that time '… exploring modal scales like Dorian & Phrygian. We decided to incorporate a similar scale into the song through that intro[duction]. Bala read a lot of guitar magazines and also briefly learned electric guitar playing at Yamaha Music School' (e-mail communication with K. Kathirasan of Rudra 2009).

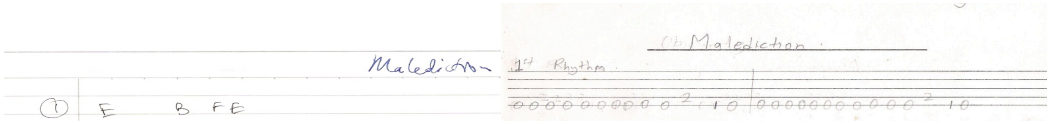
Riff 1 

Figure 2, Riff 1, 38” – 50” tempo circa □=144 bpm ||: E---B-F-E :|| 4x letter-name shorthand and bass tablature

Riff 2 0’ 51” – 1’17”

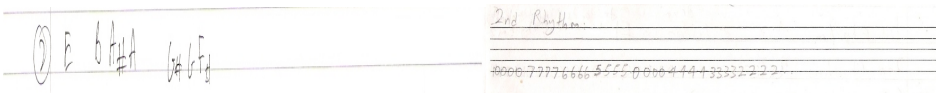


Figure 3, Riff 2 51” – 1’17” ||: E-B-Bb-A – E-G#-G-F# :|| 8x – pitch shorthand and bass tablature

Growl - 57” followed by growled vocals 1’ 04” comprising the following lyrics

*Screams, that comforts the Damned*
*Evil reigns in sinister*
*Harrow the sick in the mind*
*Curse thou to rot beneath the Lord*
*Inflict the pain*
*To the senses*
*Resuscitating the agony*
*Till the touch of death*
*Soul bleeds in hell*

Riff 3 1’ 18” – 1’ 30”

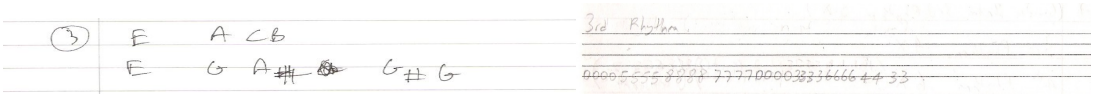


Figure 4, Riff 3 1’ 18” – 1’ 30” *Hell* (1’ 24”) ||: E-A-C-B – E-G-A#GAG :|| 4x

Riff 2 1’ 31” – 1’ 43”

Figure 5, Riff 2 1’ 31” – 1’ 43” ||: E-B-Bb-A – [E]-G#-G-F# :|| 4x – pitch shorthand and bass tablature

Growled Vocals 1’ 31” comprising a repeat of the earlier mentioned lyrics.

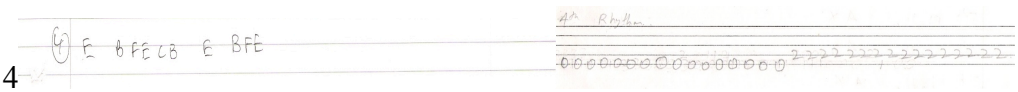
Riff 4 

Figure 6, Riff 4 1’ 44” – 1’ 56”||: E —— e – B —— b :|| 2x – pitch shorthand and bass tablature

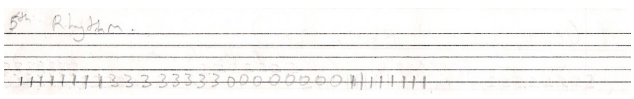
Riff 5 

Figure 7, Riff 5 - 1’ 57” – 2’ 55” (compound time/triplet rhythm contrasts with previous riffs) ||: F-G-E-F-F-G-E-F :|| 12x

Riff 5 + solo guitar 2’ 16” – 2’ 25”

Riff 5 2’ 26” – 2’ 35”

Riff 5 + solo guitar 2’ 36” – 2’ 45”

Riff 5 2’ 46” – 2’ 55”

Closing section 2’ 56” – 3’ 2” – F-pedal before closing on E || F———— E ||

The overall structure of Malediction conveys emergent structure built out of these riffs:

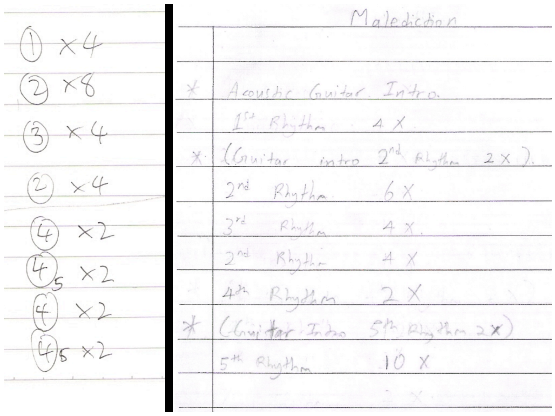



Figure 8

However, incongruity between written intention and sounded outcome may be found in the following ways:

1. No mention of tempo indications or changes – introduction tempo □ =132-138 bpm followed by song with tempo □ =144 bpm.
2. No mention of register
3. No mention of key-signature
4. No mention of dynamics
5. No mention of rhythm patterns either for the rhythm guitar or percussion section
6. No mention of timbre, or of amplification/distortion
7. No mention of vocal delivery as sung, screamed or growled.

> 8. Although the bass patterns are neatly written, the written pitches and bass tablature versions do not corroborate with each other in terms of accurately reflecting what is recorded.

If there is some correspondence between some of the notation and the recorded song, the pitches seem to reflect, with reasonable accuracy, the sounded result.

There was very little helpful information that correlated the written processes with the recorded material. Nevertheless, the written processes could hardly have qualified as instructional material since there was far more detail left out than in. Kathirasan's recollection of the introduction was notably ambiguous with the guitarist given latitude to provide an introduction based on *Dorian and Phrygian scales*. Secondly, the only written components concentrated on choice of pitches, their sequence, the patterns around each sequence and the repetitions. Yet, this was *sufficient* information to record the song.

**'Ageless Consciousness I Am'**

The next example, 'Ageless Consciousness I Am' (from *Brahmavidya Primordial I* – 2005), arrives after Rudra's purchase of a mixer which allowed then to be more reliant on sound files and recorded takes. By this time, Rudra's unique Extreme Metal identity, Vedic Metal, involved the f/using of Sanskrit with English together with their influence by the Advaita Vedanta. Kathirasan explained the genesis of 'Ageless Consciousness I Am' as

> … primarily commentarial and also slightly narrative. The Sanskrit text source is the Aitreya Upanishad, in particular the verse 3.1.3…the lyrics ['Ageless Consciousness I Am'] depict how someone gains dispassion and thereafter discovers himself by meeting and learning from a Guru. The chant comes at the point of their meeting. This song had points of convergence with my own experiences. In that sense my personal feelings could be found there (e-mail communication with K. Kathirasan of Rudra 2009).

From a musical point of view

> there could have been versions prior to these two versions. After listening to version one, I realized that it lacked substance and hence I re-wrote the song to version two. The lyrics were there just as an idea but yet to be crystallised. For example this chant was there, but later edited to suit the song when the riffs were finalized. (email communication with Kathirasan of Rudra 2009).

My observations of all three versions of this song have been tabulated as follows:

- 'Ageless Consciousness I Am' (Take 1) – tempo circa 168 bpm (quarter notes)

| |
|---|
| Riff 1 – $F^b$-$E^b$-$D^b$-$B^b$ 5" – 26" |
| Riff 2 – $D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$-$E^b$-$D^b$-$B^b$ – 27" – 48" /Riff 2 variant – $D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$-$E^b$-G-$F^b$-$E^b$ – 49" – 59" |
| Riff 3 – $B^b$—$D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$—$E^b$—$D^b$—$E^bF^b$—$E^b$ – 1' – 1'19" |
| Free play – 1' 20" – 2' 3" |
| Riff 4 – $E^b/d^b$ (harmonics) – 2' 4" – 2' 24" |
| Riff 2 – $D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$-$E^b$-$D^b$-$B^b$ – 2' 25" – 2' 38" /Riff 2 variant – $D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$-$E^b$-G-$F^b$-$E^b$ – 2' 39" – 3' 55" |
| Riff 3 – $B^b$—$D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$—$E^b$—$D^b$—$E^bF^b$—$E^b$ – 3' 13" – 3' 56" |
| Coda – Explorations 3' 56" – 4'29" |
| Variant of Riff 2 – $D^b$-$E^b$-$D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$-$E^b$-$D^b$-$B^b$/ $B^b$-$D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$-$E^b$-$D^b$-$E^bF^b$-$E^b$ 4' 3" – 4' 29" |
| |

- 'Ageless Consciousness I Am' (Take 2) tempo circa 176 bpm (quarter notes)

| |
|---|
| Riff 1 – $B^b$—$D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$—$E^b$—$D^b$—$E^b$—$F^b$ – 7" – 10" (variant of Riff 3) |
| Riff 1* – $B^b$—$D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$—$E^b$—$D^b$—$E^bF^b$—$E^b$ – 11" – 17" (Riff 3 from Take 1 rehearsal) |
| Both riffs take on an antecedent/consequent phrase shape… |
| Riff 1 – $B^b$—$D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$—$E^b$—$D^b$—$E^b$—$F^b$ – 17" – 21" (variant of Riff 3) |
| Riff 1* – $B^b$—$D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$—$E^b$—$D^b$—$E^bF^b$—$E^b$ – 22" – 27" (Riff 3 from Take 1 rehearsal) |
| Riff 2 – $E^b$-$D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$-$E^b$ and variant – $D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$-$E^b$-G-$F^b$-$E^b$ – 28" – 1' 9" derived from the second riff of the first take. |
| Riff 1 – $B^b$-$D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$-$E^b$-$D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$ – 1' 10" – 1' 15" (variant of Riff 3) |
| Riff 1* – $B^b$-$D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$-$E^b$-$D^b$-$E^bF^b$-$E^b$ – 1' 16" – 1' 20" (Riff 3 from Take 1 rehearsal) |
| Riff 1 – $B^b$-$D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$-$E^b$-$D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$ – 1' 21" – 1' 25" (variant of Riff 3) |
| Riff 1* – $B^b$-$D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$-$E^b$-$D^b$-$E^bF^b$-$E^b$ – 1' 26" – 1' 29" (Riff 3 from Take 1 rehearsal) |
| Free play based on riff two – $D^b$-$E^b$-$D^b$-$E^b$ followed by variants $D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$ and G-$F^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$ – 1.30 – 1' 54" – 2' 14" |
| Riff 1 – $B^b$-$D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$-$E^b$-$D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$ – 2' 15" – 2' 20" (variant of Riff 3) |
| Riff 1* – $B^b$-$D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$-$E^b$-$D^b$-$E^bF^b$-$E^b$ – 2' 21" – 2' 26" (Riff 3 from Take 1 rehearsal) |
| Riff 1 – $B^b$-$D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$-$E^b$-$D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$ – 2' 27" – 2' 32" (variant of Riff 3) |
| Riff 1* – $B^b$-$D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$-$E^b$-$D^b$-$E^bF^b$-$E^b$ – 2' 33" – 2' 37" (Riff 3 from Take 1 rehearsal) |
| Riff 1 embellished variant – $B^b$-$D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$-$E^b$-$D^b$-$E^b$-$F^b$ – 2' 38" – 2' 47" (variant of Riff 3) |

- ‘Ageless Consciousness I Am’ (CD track) – tempo circa 152 bpm (quarter notes)

| |
|---|
| Riff 1 antecedent – D-E$^{b}$-D-E$^{b}$-D-C-D-E$^{b}$ – 1” – 6” (second variant of Riff 3) |
| Riff 1 complement – C-D-C-D-E$^{b}$-DD-D – 7” – 12” |
| Riff 1 – D-E$^{b}$-D$^{b}$-E$^{b}$-D-C-D-E$^{b}$ –13” – 17” (second variant of Riff 3) |
| Riff 1 complement – C-D-C-D-E$^{b}$-DD-D – 18” – 23” |
| Riff 2 variant – C-D-E$^{b}$-D-F$^{\#}$-E$^{b}$-D with vocals (23” – 1’ 44”) introduces a south Indian folk percussion instrument the *urumi melam*.<br>  <br>• 0’ 44” – 1’ 3” Riff 2 variants with vocals – F$^{\#}$-E$^{b}$-D- E$^{b}$ – C-D-E$^{b}$-D<br>• 1’ 04” – 1’ 23” Riff 2 variant – C-D-E$^{b}$-D-F$^{\#}$-E$^{b}$-D<br>• 1’ 24” – 1’ 44” Riff 2 variants with vocals – F$^{\#}$-E$^{b}$-D- E$^{b}$ – C-D-E$^{b}$-D |
| Riff 1 as basis – 1’ 45” – 2’ 06” still employing the *urumi melam*:<br>• Riff 1 – D-E$^{b}$-D$^{b}$-E$^{b}$-D-C-D-E$^{b}$ – 1’ 45” – 1’ 51”<br>• Riff 1 complement – C-D-C-D-E$^{b}$-DD-D – 1’ 52” – 1’ 55”<br>• Riff 1 – D-E$^{b}$-D-E$^{b}$-D-C-D-E$^{b}$ – 1’ 56” – 2’ 00”<br>• Riff 1 complement – C-D-C-D-E$^{b}$-DD-D – 2’ 01” – 2’ 06” |
| Riff 2 variant – C-D-E$^{b}$-D-F$^{\#}$-E$^{b}$-D – 2’ 07” – 2’ 17” |

Riff 3 – comprising antecedent phrase [A—C-D—E$^{b}$—D-C—D—E$^{b}$] and consequent but anchor phrase, [A—C-D—E$^{b}$—D-C—DE$^{b}$-D] – is now accompanied by Extreme metal band instrumentation (2’ 18” through 2’ 39”) and Sanskrit lyrics.

- Riff 3*– A—C-D—E$^{b}$—D-C—D—E$^{b}$ – 2’ 18” – 2’ 23” (variant of Riff 3)
  *Sadashiva Samarambham* / Starting from Lord Shiva
- Riff 3 – A—C-D—E$^{b}$—D-C—DE$^{b}$-D – 2’ 23” – 2’ 27” (Riff 3 from Take 1 rehearsal)
  *Shankaracharya Madhyamam* / And in the middle Shankaracharya
- Riff 3*– A—C-D—E$^{b}$—D-C—D—E$^{b}$ – 2’ 28” – 2’ 33” (variant of Riff 3)
  *Asmadacharya Paryantam* / Homage to my own Teacher
- Riff 3 – A—C-D—E$^{b}$—D-C—DE$^{b}$-D – 2’ 34” – 2’ 39” (Riff 3 from Take 1 rehearsal)
  *Vande Guru Paramparam* /And to this day I bow this long line of Teachers

Riff 2 Variants return with lyrics in English:

| |
|---|
| Riff 2 variants C-D-E$^{b}$-D-F$^{\#}$-E$^{b}$-D with vocals (2’ 39” – 2’ 58”)<br>*Finally the Truth is seen*<br>*Unknowable once to me but now known to me*<br>*What an error it is to take myself to be what I am not* |
| Riff 2 variants C-D-E$^{b}$-D-F$^{\#}$-E$^{b}$-D with vocals (2’ 59” – 3’ 09”)<br>*No words can reveal me*<br>*Yet words alone set me free*<br>*The beatitude revealed through desciplic succession* |

Riff 3 (3’10” – 3’31”) as a central riff returns albeit without vocal interjections.

- Riff 3*– A—C-D—$E^b$—D-C—D—$E^b$ – 3’ 10” – 3’ 15” (variant of Riff 3)
- Riff 3 – A—C-D—$E^b$—D-C—D$E^b$-D – 3’ 16” – 3’ 20” (Riff 3 from Take 1 rehearsal)
- Riff 3*– A-C-D-$E^b$-D-C-D-$E^b$ – 3’ 21” – 3’ 25” – 3’ 26” (variant of Riff 3)
- Riff 3 – A—C-D—$E^b$—D-C—D$E^b$-D – 3’ 26” – 3’ 31” (Riff 3 from Take 1 rehearsal)

Solo guitar improvisation (3’ 32” – 3’ 50”)

Riff 1 & 2 variants return D-$E^b$-D-$E^b$-D-C-D-$E^b$ – 3’ 51” – 4’ 12” with lyrics in English
D-EbD-EbD –Eb
No illusion for me
D-C$E^b$-D
I am the ever free
D$E^b$- $F^{\#}E^b$-D-$E^b$
No illusion for me
D-C$E^b$-D
I am the ever free

The central riff 3 returns in a manner similar to the section marked 2’ 18” – 2’ 39”

- Riff 3*– A—C-D—$E^b$—D-C—D—$E^b$ – 4’ 12” – 4’ 17” (variant of Riff 3)
  *Sadashiva Samarambham /* Starting from Lord Shiva
- Riff 3 – A—C-D—$E^b$—D-C—D$E^b$-D – 4’ 18” – 4’ 22” (Riff 3 from Take 1 rehearsal)
  *Shankaracharya Madhyamam /* And in the middle Shankaracharya
- Riff 3*– A—C-D—$E^b$—D-C—D—$E^b$ – 4’ 23” – 4’ 28” (variant of Riff 3)
  *Asmadacharya Paryantam /* Homage to my own Teacher
- Riff 3 – A—C-D—$E^b$—D-C—D$E^b$-D – 4’ 29” – 4’ 34” (Riff 3 from Take 1 rehearsal)
  *Vande Guru Paramparam /*And to this day I bow this long line of Teachers

The closing riff for the song is the first riff:

- Riff 1 – D-$E^b$-$D^b$-$E^b$-D-C-D-$E^b$ – 4’ 33” – 4’ 39” (variant of Riff 3)
- Riff 1* – C-D-C-D-$E^b$-DD-D – 4’ 40” – 4’ 46” (Riff 3 from Take 1 rehearsal)
- Riff 1 – D-$E^b$-$D^b$-$E^b$-D-C-D-$E^b$ – 4’ 47” – 4’ 53” (variant of Riff 3)
- Riff 1* – C-D-C-D-$E^b$-DD-D – 4’ 53” – 5’ 2” (Riff 3 from Take 1 rehearsal)

‘Ageless Consciousness I Am’ seems funded on the textual content with the riffs but the musical material as it appear in the CD is very tightly knit round Riff 3 D-$E^b$-$D^b$-$E^b$-D-C-D-$E^b$ / A—C-D—$E^b$—D-C—D$E^b$-D and the relationships with Riff 1 D-$E^b$-$D^b$-$E^b$-D-C-D-$E^b$ / C-D-C-D-$E^b$-DD-D and Riff 2 which is the most fluid and varied riff C-D-$E^b$-D-$F^{\#}$-$E^b$-D. It may even be possible to suggest Riff 2 being at the nexus of all the riffs.

As with ‘Malediction’, however, there are gaps between the two *takes* and the final performance despite the absence of notation. Incongruity may be found in the following ways:

1. Changes in tempo – the first, second and final takes were played at speeds of approximately □ =168, 176 and 152 respectively.

2. There is no suggestion of key signature although the first two ‘takes’ aurally suggest a closer affinity to $E^b$-centricity. The final performance is perceived to be in D-centricity.

3. No indication or intimation of dynamic contrast or nuance in the first two takes although in the final performance, there are clearly nuanced and dramatised through the use of pauses and passages free of regular percussion infusion.

4. Rhythmic and melodic patterns might have led to the assumption of the second take being the near accurate version in performance. The final performance, however surprising the twists and turns, is characterised by melodic and rhythmic profiles which are tightly knit and display not only profundity but also effective use of thematic material.

5. No preparation for nuances of timbre, or of amplification/distortion in the first two takes although in the final performance there is sufficient variety, contrast and even solo lead guitar infusions for an emergent and engaging song. The inclusion of south Indian traditional percussion instruments of a very bright and outdoor timbre (*urumi melam*) does create sufficient tension and contrast with the extreme metal instrumental soundscape. The use of traditional percussion instruments at the beginning helps to add tension to the work by suspending the extreme metal instrumentation until two minutes and seven seconds into the song.

6. There is no vocal input in the first two takes and no mention, as well, of vocal delivery as sung, screamed or growled in the final performance.

7. Structurally, in the first take, the central riff seems somewhat unbalanced by the myriad variant riffs. The second take seems to centralise the riff by assigning it an antecedent-consequent phrase shape. In the final performance, the nexus riff (without vocals) is located somewhere in the middle of the song (ca. 3' 10") making for an arch-shape structure out of the riffs. In the meantime, the outer sections of the piece are thematic variations of this riff, with added notes or slightly altered melodic profiles. In locating these riffs, the final performance seems structurally quite symmetrical. It might be possible even to suggest that this final performance was scripted if we had not the evidence of the earlier *takes*. As again, the eventual CD track seems to have been effectively arrived at despite gaps in *continuity of information or effectiveness of symbols* from the first and second rehearsals.

**Lessons from Extreme Metal Musicians**

I want to reiterate the questions raised earlier, beginning with consigning an instructional status to notation which implies a prescriptive, pragmatic and precarious function to notation in popular music learning. K. Kathirasan, Rudra's bassist, vocalist and songwriter, explained how notation was *situated* in their creative pathways:

> To us notation is a way of preserving the music. After a couple of songs we may forget the intricacies of certain riffs. So it is good to note it down especially in Extreme metal where the riffs can have very minor yet significant variations. …And having it written would allow me to pick up the riffs quickly. (e-mail communication with K. Kathirasan of Rudra 2009).

In the processes of writing in relation to creating 'Malediction':

> There were prior writings that were trashed after I started to write them in the book. Initially I wrote down the different riffs in a song. And then I noted the specific riff in terms of the bass line. This would allow me to know what I played or what the riff was. Basically all this happened because I feared that I may forget

> the riffs. I only wrote my bass lines once the song had been finalized. (e-mail communication with K. Kathirasan of Rudra 2009).

Kathirasan's musings on notation, and Rudra's by extension, represent not only a mnemonic but also an archival function. Rudra's use of notation suggests *de-scriptive*, sometimes *in-scriptive* or but far less *prescriptive* function. Writing the riffs down became tantamount to archiving their compositional tactics, strategies and repertoire; albeit in riffs. This raises questions about the function of a riff since it is also a stark reminder of *in/visibility*. Moreover, whether a riff constitutes a composition or compositional sketch is a question of perspective. On the one hand, should a riff therefore, as a simplistic fragment, *re/present* the entire song? On the other hand, Peter Winkler's accurate as possible transcription of the rhythm of Aretha Franklin's vocal line in 'I Never Loved a Man' is a reminder that accuracy of textual representation may not only obscure the simplicity of musical ideas leading to that performance, but may also be realised in a written form that might not be understood by a practitioner responsible for the performance of that musical idea (Winkler, 1997).

Secondly, notation for Rudra seemed to constitute points of *homage* and *departure*. Notation acted to trigger *extra/musical* responses like emotions, muscular responses, differentiate subtle nuances in the riffs, self-esteem, reassurance, objective perspective from the riff. In Kathirasan's words, '… these were artifacts to remember the good ol' days of the band. The band meant a lot to me so I had this all safely kept as memories may disappear over time' (e-mail communication with K. Kathirasan of *Rudra* 2009). Since the riff acted as stimulus, it conveyed, through notation, a *communicative* function more than exemplifying that which was or has been *composed*. Notation for Rudra therefore seemed far more symbiotic and symbolic than supplementary in its contribution towards music-making.

Thirdly, since notation serves to communicate through the use of *visual* information, albeit a riff, notation seems to act, in Rudra's case, more as an act of visualisation. Each riff or

combination of riffs seems to *in/form* a topography of creative activity with a song being the result of a preconceived structure or one emergent through the concatenation of riffs.

Fourthly, notation was intended for personal consumption; creative activity from *within*. Performing conventions would consequently bear out these introspective triggers. Questions of its suitability for publication are a matter of perspective. Are these published texts intractable prescriptions or are they descriptions of communicative processes by individual/s made available for consumption? It is very likely that *fake books,* popularised among popular music and jazz practices, are acknowledgment of *un/stable* texts rather than exemplifying textual *in/accuracy*. This suggests practices involving textual *in/stability* known to its practitioners and subscribers largely because of the freedom to respond intuitively, orally and aurally to such texts, and their most likely deference to a more stable text such as the sound recording.

Finally, notation as an instance of *text/uality* seems to highlight, for Rudra at least, a greater predilection for the lyrics to the music rather than the other way around. Kathirasan muses on detail of his compositional strategies with Rudra:

> In the early days I would write the lyrics first and then edit them to fit the music. That's why I still have lyrics for which no music has been written. 'Malediction' lyrics were independent and then music later…then joining them together…the sequence was lyrics – music – edited lyrics – song completed. The lyrics ['Ageless Consciousness I Am'] were there just as an idea but yet to be crystallised …later edited to suit the song when the riffs were finalized. This hymn is chanted with the same background riff [Riffs 3 & complement in the final cut]. In this case, I came up with idea of using the hymn first and then wrote the riffs (e-mail communication with K. Kathirasan of Rudra 2009).

If the lyrics for 'Ageless Consiousness I Am' were commentaries on texts available in the *Advaita Vedanta*, Rudra's practice, Vedic metal, is in actuality Vedic philosophy *through* Extreme (Death) metal soundscapes; briefly lyrical text *through* musical text.

'Malediction' and 'Ageless Consiousness I Am' make for instructive comparisons. While in the former, much of the song was fuelled by riffs, the latter is quite clearly mapping

of lyrical text onto musical space. Kathirasan's nuanced perspective of writing and later deferring to recorded riffs and sounds is instructive of his and Rudra's creative endeavour. Writing formed an important part of their compositional strategies. Even if the musical notation had been supplanted by oral scripting, it is difficult to ignore the impact of written notational practice on aural and oral performance practice. This is further corroborated on the translation of written to aural and oral topography as Kathirasan points out in the recording of 'Malediction':

> I had already tried out the sounds and recorded onto tapes. It [the notation] didn't do much to me in recording because I was very familiar with the song at that time. We didn't record rhythm patterns because we had recorded the song on tape. So we didn't feel the need to write that down or even learn how to record it. (e-mail communication with K. Kathirasan of Rudra 2009).

Admittedly 'Ageless Consciousness I Am' represents a move away from notation but Kathirasan's qualification of notation is instructive:

> By the time of 'Aryan Crusade' [ca.2001], I had already invested in a mixer with a tape recorder where I could record all the songs/riffs. So I stopped writing the stuff down. Moreover, I knew it was going to be recorded hence **the need to write it down took a back seat**. Now that the songs were all recorded and released in CDs, there was no more the urge to write things down (e-mail communication with K. Kathirasan of Rudra 2009, author's emphasis)

Notation was not relegated to the status of supplementary or throw/n away material; only its *deferred spatial representation* for which a sound recording sufficed.

Written notation, however, does not account for a crucial element in performance; its timbre. That assumes, however, that written notational practice can be comprehensive, definitive and not communicative of possibilities. The lessons from 'Malediction' – of a lack of complete correspondence between written out versions and their recorded example – may also be seen in 'Ageless Consciousness I Am'. The initial riff from the first take is absent in the final recording. 'Malediction' is notable for its preconceived riffs which were realised and shaped in performance. 'Ageless Consiousness I Am' is notable for its rather diffuse soundscape punctuated by a central riff for a hymn chant which is then honed towards a

performance where it becomes a central (almost literally and temporally) aural and oral sculpture. Kathirasan explains the rather surprising entry of Indian traditional instrument/ation:

> The percussion instruments we use were the *tavil*, *dholak* and *urumi melam*. I had an idea for the percussion [urumi melam] even while writing the two earlier versions. But we never got down to writing it and we were still in search of musicians. (e-mail communication with K. Kathirasan of Rudra 2009).

While 'Ageless Consciousness I Am' is an apposite example of aural and oral traces of Rudra's compositional processes leading to the final version, I want to suggest Rudra's early cartographical praxis – the act of written notation as well as ability to visualise content and form - was instrumental towards their later oral scripting tactics and strategies.

Despite Rudra's shift towards aural and oral practice as a more efficacious *notational system*, Kathirasan seems wistful in the midst of these changes:

> Over the years, when I kept writing more and more songs I realized the value of writing the notes down or else one day I may forget them. Till today, I regret not having written the notes for most of the songs. I wish I had the motivation to write because it helps in objectifying the riffs visually rather than aurally. Personally I like the idea of having songs written on a paper so that it does not get forgotten even I were to not 'hear' what I have played in a song. So it gives a sense of reassurance to me that I have got it cast in stone….although music is sonic by nature, structures cannot be recorded aurally but visually through forms written (e-mail communication with K. Kathirasan of Rudra 2009).

**Implications for Music Education**

If the lessons from Rudra bear evidence of compositional tactics and strategies, might we not consider the notation, written as well as aural and oral scripts, records or sketches, which *bear witness to the compositional process* (Lillestam, 1996, p.210-211)? If songs are about music and lyrics and regarded as *agglomeration[s] of music and lyrics* (Kahn-Harris, 2003, p. 84), might notation consider two textual versions, a sonic one and a written one? Considering the lessons from Rudra, might one think of songs as lyrical content expressed *through* music; in this case Extreme (Death) metal? If the lessons from Rudra are that of notation as

communication, and that notation is communicative towards performance, might we consider notation as *communication-in-performance*, more so than *composition-in-performance* (Oesterreicher, 1997, p. 207)? If notation is a revelation of communication and each musician's pathway towards communicating themselves is symbolised by their different marks, should notation be regarded as visualizing – whether conceptualizing or mapping – technology (Lochhead 2006)?

**Conclusion**

Rudra's sketches and lyrics, which were developed in their immediacy with more/ less cancellations, sheds light on their self-taught and learned creative behaviours and processes. They learned to compose-by-doing; beginning with the use and meaning of written versions of creative endeavour with more and less cancellations; they learned to use exiguous notation and use of technology; they learned and developed creative endeavour through writing and music-making; in so doing, they developed self-assuredness and confidence in aurally and orally *writing a script*. Through their lyrics and modes of self-expression, they have communicated an understanding of the skills of composing through writing and music-making as culturally situated practices; namely Vedic metal. If Rudra members express regret in their difficulties in documenting their compositional outcomes given their self-taught pathways and lack of formal training, could learners in popular music be engaged not only through their own means of communication but also through conventional notation? Should teachers be cognisant of creative attempts through written and aural & oral drafts not only as valid compositional sketches but also tactics and strategies towards self-expression? Are teachers prepared to accept exiguous notation as *texts of immediacy* of self-expression? Are teachers prepared to see conventional notation as one of many communicative possibilities

among others, including exiguous means and not as a basis for comparison with *texts of immediacy*? Are teachers prepared to come to terms with exiguous notation as drafts in compositional thinking in both written and sounded content and form? Are teachers prepared to accept that written and sounded notational systems as provisional creative attempts, riffs notwithstanding, as documentation of compositional processes?

An awareness of *in/stability* of written and sounded compositional texts in popular music learning as textual and communicative immediacy helps to highlight a multiplicity of communication possibilities through immediacy. It is this textual instability that fuels the arguments *of* and *about* text/ual content, form, meaning and interpretation in the practice of popular music. If nothing else, lessons imbibed from *Rudra* articulate the tensions between *in/formality* (issues of form) and *inform/ality* (issues of content) in learning popular music; issues which merit *serious examination*.

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# Collaboration, Learning, and Connect

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*Abstract*
Between March and June 2009 music students at the Federal University of Minas Gerais, Brazil, will participate in a new programme exploring how participatory arts projects can be led using highly student centred, creative approaches. Students will develop skills in leading 'real time' composition processes, moulding musical ideas created by participants into new pieces and performances. The course, jointly designed and delivered by staff from Minas Gerais and the Guildhall School of Music & Drama's Connect programme, re-defines the work of Connect for the Brazilian context. The course sees students developing their thinking about student centred learning through a series of collaborative tasks that lead towards the delivery of projects in favelasi around Belo Horizonte, Brazil. Research underpins the course, exploring how students' identities alter as they engage with the new approach. Research methods include interviews, observations and recording of the sessions. The presentation will describe the projects, discuss the data and explore the preliminary findings.

*Foreword*

This paper focuses on a course delivered between March and June 2009. It takes the form of a reflection rather than a more rigorous academic research paper.

## Introduction

This case study explores the experience of 24 undergraduate students from the Music School at the Federal University of Minas Gerais (EMUFMG), Brazil, enrolled in the optional course "Music Education and Social Projects". Designed around principles developed by the Guildhall School's Connect team, the course had three related aims:

1. To encourage students to consider the variety of roles musicians can have society;
2. To train undergraduate music students as creative music facilitators able to work in a diverse range of social contexts;
3. To create sustainable links between the University and social projects.

The course was delivered by Robert Wells from Guildhall School of Music & Drama and Heloisa Feichas, lecturer at EMUFMG.

The idea of bringing this project to a Brazilian reality came from our questioning of the gaps in undergraduate music student's learning. The music school at EMUFMG is based upon on the European Conservatoire model, a system which is both chronologically and culturally displaced within modern Brazil. The 'master/apprentice' hierarchy, which can encourage reliant behavior in students, is pervasive. The study of performance, composition and conducting are decontextualized; routed in the European classical tradition students explore

only a fraction of the diverse musical life of Brazil. There are scarce opportunities for students, including those studying Music Education, to engage practically with the wider society. Collectively these issues frequently prevent students from developing into conscious, self aware, creative musicians who can positively add to the society of which they are a part (Feichas, 2006). We felt it essential to develop new opportunities for students so that they could explore the connections between their musical interests and the social and cultural landscape of contemporary Brazil.

The introduction of Connect's practices was one way of doing this. Guildhall Connect's work focuses upon collaboration. Participants engage in group composition tasks, collectively creating the music that they perform[1]. These sessions expand a range of intelligences, for instance their interpersonal and musical intelligences (Gardner, 2006).

As students gain a practical and theoretical understanding of Connect's processes there is a natural development of their leadership skills. These skills are transferable to a number of musical, educational and social contexts. This is particularly relevant in Brazil where there has been a steady increase in the number of Brazilian NGOs supporting social projects involving music. These projects frequently engage communities through musical activities, however in many cases the pedagogical approaches are based on old models, frequently involving the reproduction of existing music. We hoped that engaging students in this project would make them re-consider the role of a leader / teacher within both the formal and non-formal educational environment.

**Connect in action: the course in UFMG**

The group consisted of 24 undergraduate students in their early 20's. There were 10 male and 14 female. 14 students were registered in the Music Education course whereas eight were

doing Bachelor degrees in Performance; one was doing Composition, one was enrolled in Conducting, and one was on a vocal studies programme. Officially those registered on the Bachelor in Performance play the following: Percussion (1); Flute (3); Harp (1); Piano (2); Cello (1). However, most of the students are multi-instrumentalists, the range of instruments being diverse and including different types of percussion, recorders, escaletta, accordion, cavaquinho, bandolim, viola caipira (10 strings) and glockenspiel.

The course was divided into three parts:

1. Introduction of philosophies underpinning the programme - led by Heloisa Feichas;
2. Intensive month of sessions (8 hours per week) culminating in the delivery of a short project with young people from a social project at the University- led by Robert Wells;
3. Continuation of practical work with increasing reflection, leading to delivery of a second short project, this time a part of a visit to a social project - led by Heloisa Feichas;

The structure of the programme was in part determined by Robert's availability to travel to Brazil. In an ideal world the theoretical and practical aspects would have been more interconnected and the pacing of sessions slightly different. We were concerned about having too much theory at the start of the course and by the timing of the first project.

**Students' Expectations and Identities**

In the first session students sat in a circle and were asked to talk about their expectations of the course and question their musical identities. What they expected to develop during the

course in terms of knowledge and skills, who they are as musicians, and their future career goals were all explored. They were given time to think about the questions and everyone had his/her turn to speak out. Their responses were recorded. Students were also asked to keep a diary during the course in order to be aware of their learning process and observe their changes.

The students had been told about the aims of the course prior to its commencement, so they had a general idea about its aims. According to their personal musical experiences and backgrounds their expectations and musical interests varied. However, some categories appeared similar for many students. From their responses it was clear that most of them were motivated to develop aural skills. They seemed aware of the need to improve their listening skills including picking music up by ear. All students, even those enrolled in the classical course, expressed high motivation for playing and listening to popular music expanding their knowledge of popular styles. Those students with a particular interest in popular music also tended to stress the importance of performing in groups and made clear that they saw the course as an opportunity to acquire and develop ensembles skills. Actually thirteen members of the group were already engaged in ensembles of different types and stated the benefits of playing together.

Education and social transformation were frequently discussed. Six students were already engaged in different social projects; eight students talked about their interest in music education believing that music to be a powerful tool for changing societies. Interestingly some students who had begun on performance courses had already been considering developing as teachers having engaged in optional music education courses.

Seven students discussed the need to improve composition/creative skills. Few of the students had experience as individual composers. The idea of composing collectively was quite new for the majority, as was the concept of leading an ensemble engaged in this

practice. Improvisation was mentioned as a skill for musicians to develop.

When asked about "who are you as a musician", most of the students talked about their musical tastes. Out of twenty-four students only one affirmed being a "classical" musician and stated a wish of playing in classical orchestras. All of them are passionate about popular music, especially Brazilian popular music. Many students also had mentioned their "passion" for music. Some of them had started another course in the university but the "passion" for music was stronger and led them to change courses. "Passion" was often related to playing an instrument and listening to music. They were asked to keep thinking about their musical identities throughout the course in order to be conscious about who they are, what they would like to change, which skills and knowledge they would like to acquire and how they were changing.

**The Challenges**

Students faced a number of challenges during the course. The programme was demanding in terms of the diversity of skills needed, and the group's lack of experience in this area of work. Based upon the experience of delivering similar courses at the Guildhall School and other similar institutions certain issues were expected to arise, others were rather more unexpected. Throughout the course situations challenging students most were considered, by the tutors, areas for learning. These became topics for and helped to shape the practical content of the course.

The ability to make decisions and find consensus was a cornerstone of the course. For many students the level of freedom being encouraged was challenging. Students frequently looked to the tutors for 'the answers' rather than finding their own solutions at the start of the course. They struggled making independent decisions, and failed to recognizing the impact of

their decision making approach on others. There was often an overemphasis on verbal communication leading to unnecessary debate. Rather than trying an idea, the group preference was to debate it over a protracted period, slowing the pace of session, and reducing the overall creativity of the group. Even non-musical tasks, such as separating into small groups, took large amounts of time early on. As these issues arose and students reflected upon them they became increasingly aware of the affect interpersonal skills had on the work they could produce and consequently on their own role within the group.

Structuring ideas and develop musical material also proved challenging. Whilst most students were comfortable composing in the moment, improvising, and 'jamming' together, they did not have the skills needed to create fixed musical ideas. In the first few composition sessions students produced lots of sketches and musical ideas, unfortunately few of these were in any sense 'finished'. Students also found it difficult to conceptualize how different musical ideas could relate to each other or be shaped to create larger musical structures.

Conflicts also arose between students based upon their differing approaches to music. Classically trained students were happiest using questions such as 'which scale should we use?' as the starting point for collaborative composition tasks. In contrast, students with a popular music background preferred to play, allowing the musical direction to be led by the sound of the music being created. As students with different backgrounds were mixed together this frequently led to students complaining about the approach used by others[2]. These issues reduced as students took a more practical approach towards decision making, the classically trained students spending less time discussing theoretical issues, and all students being more accepting and aware of differences.

A big challenge, and area of much debate, was gaining a clear understanding of the role of the leader. At first they associated the concept of leadership to authority; the leader was the person who made decisions. This concept transferred into the classroom, many

students considering the role of a teacher to be the person with the answers. In this course emphasis was placed upon student's ideas, their challenges set the agenda for further exploration, and the tutors more frequently asked questions than gave solutions. Because of this many of the students came to challenge their preconceptions of leadership and the role of the teacher in an educational context.

## Working with social projects

*First experience: at Music School*[3]

We had planned to work with two different social projects to deliver a one-day workshop at the University. During the day students would work with young people from the social projects *Projeto Cariúnas* and *Projeto Corpo Cidadão,* leading an entire day of activities culminating in an early evening concert at the school's concert hall. Due to problems of schedules, *Projeto Corpo Cidadão* could not take part and *Projeto Cariúnas* could only attend during the afternoon. This was a significant constraint which added significant pressure on the undergraduate students to produce something in only a very limited amount of time.

After a collective warm-up the group divided in two. The young people from the social project were quieter than expected, making it difficult to centre the creative process on the young people's ideas; this was particularly apparent in one group where the students struggled to create a melody. Time was a significant factor here, it was difficult for the students to build the relationships necessary to solicit ideas from the young people and consequently there was a tendency from the students to put forward their own ideas. This tested the student's burgeoning interpersonal skills as they attempted to make the young people feel more comfortable.

This was the first time students had led a creative workshop, and despite a number of challenges, the session was a success. By the end of the creative session strong musical material had been created. The additional time constraints had focussed students thinking on their own interpersonal skills, reinforcing the work done in preceding lessons. The ability to share leadership and trust each other had been critical to the success of the workshop. The following day a session to reflect upon the workshop and it was clear that although the workshop had been quite stressful students had learnt a lot from the experience.

*Second experience: at Projeto Cariúnas*

The first experience with the Social Project *Cariúnas* marked the end of the course with Robert. Students however continued their collaborative composition work, further developing their skills in preparation for a second project, this time visiting *Cariúnas*.

During the second experience all of the students noticed that their skill levels had improved. The sense of collaboration was stronger, they were able to enjoy the process far more and were more satisfied with the musical results. Despite this they still had questions about shared leadership. Even where clear roles had been decided prior to the workshops, those involved felt challenged by the situation. The lack of a central figure was hotly debated, many students felt that there needed to be a single person leading the process others thought that taking collective responsibility strengthen the sense of group.

**Outcomes from evaluation: students' responses**

There were two formal moments of evaluation. The first one was after the initial project with *Cariúnas*. Students were asked to divide into three groups and create mind maps focusing on

what they felt they had learnt during the course. The main categories that came up from the analysis of the mind map are in the following table in a hierarchical order:

Table 1: Categories arising from student groups' mind maps of learning benefits

| **Group 1** | **Group 2** | **Group 3** |
|---|---|---|
| Composition | Composition | Composition (collective) |
| Leadership | Leadership | General learning |
| Group working | Music | Group working |
| Concentration | Teaching | Leadership |
| Informal learning | Group feeling | Teaching |

Within the *Composition* category there were sub-categories such as creativity, originality, connection of ideas, innovation, adapting musically (acceptance of unusual/ unexpected material), sense of collective, detaching from your own ideas, language adaptation, and contextualization. Improvisation was also mentioned as an important area that had been developed.

When discussing *leadership* students pointed out the importance of learning about humbleness, patience, sharing, to make mistakes, to know when to be passive and active, to be ready to act, to develop commitment, listening to others, knowing the limits of leading and being led.

When talking about *group working* students considered all the stages of the process including warming-up, collaborative composition and performance. They learned about humbleness, the importance to get on well with each other, to have a good atmosphere,

compromising, to have responsibility towards the group, to cope with adversity, to trust and respect each other, to be comprehensive, tolerant, sensitive to the group, the ability of listening, knowing the limits of one's action, positive attitudes, sense of unity, putting yourself in somebody else's place, sense of commitment, development of a sense of group (group feeling), musical and technical issues. Students also mentioned the pleasure and satisfaction of working in a group.

Other issues mentioned as important in their learning included concentration, teaching strategies, an awareness of their learning processes, body consciousness and music. They also pointed out some characteristics from informal learning practices such as playing by ear, improvisation, sense of liberty and spontaneity.

The second moment for the course's evaluation and their self-assessment was in the last session. In circle again, as in the very first session, each student talked about the impact of having taken part in the course. They were required to reflect upon the process and speak about what they considered most important. The process of collaborative composition was mentioned as the most important thing learnt by most of the group. They stressed many related skills that had been acquired such as being spontaneous, having the freedom to create, improving their listening and compositional skills and respecting others ideas. Almost all the students who already teach have been trying to apply the *Connect* and described their experiences as positive though challenging. Leadership concepts are still not clear for the majority of students and in most of the discourses they showed doubts about the leader's role. Despite this most students were highly motivated to keep using the ideas explored during the course.

## Conclusions and future plans

The course was initially intended as a single semester programme. Long before the course had finished students asked if it could be extended for a second semester. Students were keen to develop the ensemble that had been created in class wishing to compose and perform together more regularly. A number of the students, who had become very interested in working in social contexts, had begun volunteering to lead music sessions on social projects. A second semester course has now been written and 22 of the initial 24 students have elected to take the programme.

Connections between the university and several social projects have also been developed. During the second semester programme it is hoped that students will engage in longer placements increasing their skills and creating further links between the young people in the projects and the university. There are also increasing opportunities for leaders from social projects to meet and share their practices due to this work, creating a more interconnected community of music leaders across Belo Horizonte.

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**Endnotes**

[1] Refer to the *Musical Futures* website for further information: http://www.musicalfutures.org.uk/resource/27245

[2] These kinds of conflicts were also found in Feichas (2006, pp. 114-146).

[3] Footage of the session is available at: http://www.youtube.com/user/CulturalAdventurer

# Connecting Classroom, School and Community: an exploration of music education at primary level in Ireland

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*Abstract*

A historical overview of the Irish education system indicates an increase in the profile of music education in Ireland with new revised curricula introduced at both primary and post primary level. The introduction of the new primary level curriculum is significant because it is part of a process whereby principals and teachers have become increasingly more aware of the importance of enhancing the provision of music education in schools and creating equal opportunities for children to participate in music. The renewed interest in providing access to music education has also led to a number of extra-curricular developments. Arts organizations, local community groups, music teachers, and musicians have become more involved in music education programmes through various extra-curricular projects and initiatives. Drawing on ethnographic research carried out in a number of primary schools in Ireland, this paper will explore the provision of music education at primary level in Ireland. It will outline both the formal curricular provision and the informal extra-curricular provision of music at primary level. It will reveal the main agents involved in the provision of music education. The paper will explore how music is unique in the way it provides connections between the classroom, school and the wider community. It will discuss how the various agents and systems of music education could collectively combine and draw on resources to increase and enhance the provision of music education at primary level in Ireland.

## Introduction

This research paper is concerned with the ways in which music, education, and community are interwoven in the primary level education system in Ireland. The complex mosaics of the Irish education system and Irish society challenge a simplistic understanding of the place and role of music in the Irish system.

Based on the experience acquired from ethnographic research carried out in a number of primary schools in Ireland, I will discuss some of the most recent changes in the formal education system, in particular in the past ten years. I will examine how music is organized and co-ordinated in schools exploring both the formal curricular provision and informal extra-curricular activities. I will discuss the revised primary music curriculum of 1999 and the implementation strategy designed to implement the curriculum. In the paper, I will also make specific reference to a community outreach project that took place in a number of schools throughout Cork city. The project entitled Bridging the Gap took place between 2001 and 2005 and was based in the Department of Education, University College Cork. Through a discussion of music at primary level education in Ireland I will outline the main agents involved in musical provision and identify the key spaces where this takes place. I will also make a number of observations regarding the current provision of music and the role of the various agents involved in music education.

This paper is developed from data gathered from my postgraduate research based at Department of Music, University College Cork (Finnerty, 2008) and my work as an outside community music teacher in the Bridging the Gap project, both of which were based in a number of primary schools in Cork city. As a researcher I carried out ethnographic fieldwork over a number of months, I observed classroom practice, attended school and community events and I also engaged in both structured interviews and informal conversations with

classroom teachers and principals. As a visiting music teacher I worked with students, teachers and the various university departments to develop community and classroom links.

**Context**

A historical overview of the Irish education system indicates an increase in the profile of music education in Ireland over the past ten years with revised curricula introduced at both primary and secondary level. The revised curriculum for primary level was introduced in 1999. The introduction of the revised curriculum is significant because it is part of a process whereby principals and teachers have become increasingly more aware of the importance of enhancing the provision of music education in schools. The recent literature on music education in Ireland also makes reference to issues of access and provision of music education in primary schools in Ireland (see: Heneghan, 1995; Pine, 1998; McCarthy, 1999; Stakelum, 2004).

The renewed interest in providing access to music education has also led to a number of extra-curricular developments. Arts organizations, local community groups, music teachers, and musicians have become more involved in music education programmes through various extra-curricular projects and initiatives (*Supporting Arts in Education*, 2003; *Arts in Schools Directory*, 2004; *Arts-in-Education Directory*, 2007). Many of these programmes aim to create equal opportunities for all children.

A number of key reports have focused on the role of the arts and music in Irish education: *Provision for the Arts* (1976), *The Place of Arts in Irish Education* (1979), *Deaf Ears*, (1985), *Music Education National Debate* (1996), *The PIANO Report*, (1996), *A National System of Local Music Education Services* (2003). Reports published by The Breaking the Cycle Scheme in Urban Schools (2000) and Bridging the Gap Project (2001-

2006) refer to music in an exploration of issues of access to education and inequalities in the Irish education system. A number of other reports consider particular music-based, arts-in-education projects in specific socio-geographical locations: *The South Dublin Education Project* (2000), *Dingle Education Project* (2000). Many of the reports discuss the lack of provision for the arts in Ireland; however, none have explored the current role or practice of music at primary level considering the classroom context. To date, there has been little discussion in the discourse on the role or presence of music-centred community involvement in schools in Ireland. The absence of specific literature concerning the connection, through music, between the school community and other communities highlights the need for further understanding of the area. This paper aims to explore the reciprocal connections between music and community within the classroom setting, with a particular emphasis on the agents that are involved in the provision of music education at primary level.

**Our Musical Introductions**

From a young age, we are all exposed to various types of musical sounds in our environment. In addition to these informal experiences of musical sounds, there exists a variety of formal systems and institutions where young people can also experience music. Children are exposed to musical learning through various experiences such as attending pre-school, instrumental music lessons, or learning from a teacher, member of the family or local musician. These introductory experiences are arguably one of the most significant factors in determining our relationship with music and culture (McCarthy, 1999, p. 2). In Ireland, many of our first encounters with music in a formal context occur in primary school. Music is one of the official subjects in the New Revised Primary Curriculum (1999). The principal aim of the curriculum is the provision of musical learning for all children throughout their primary

schooling years (Revised Primary School Curriculum 1999, p. 12). However, the primary level classroom and school environment present many opportunities for informal experiences of music that can also inform attitudes towards music and a child's subsequent learning experience.

Primary level education is particularly significant because, in terms of total attendance as a percentage of the population, it is the most inclusive level within the Irish education system. The primary education system aims to provide each child with the opportunity to participate in a learning environment with the greatest possible diversity of subjects, regardless of the student's social or economic background. So, in terms of music experience, this is the one place where all children have the opportunity to experience musical learning. Because of this, the nature and content of music within primary level becomes an important consideration.

**Formal Curricular Provision**

The Revised Curriculum in Music (1999) replaced the *Curaclam Nua na Bunscoil* (The New Primary School Curriculum), which had been in place since 1971. The 1999 music curriculum proposes that 'music is for all teachers and all children' (Revised Primary School Curriculum, 1999). The aim is to provide all children the opportunity to engage in musical learning throughout their primary schooling years. Although the curriculum guidelines are administered centrally from the Department of Education and Science, the philosophies, methodologies and contents of the curriculum are interpreted and implemented by school principals and classroom teachers at local level through the development of whole school planning and classroom planning.

The Revised Primary Curriculum was developed by the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) in partnership with a committee comprising parents, teachers and principals. This partnership approach was also a feature of the implementation of the revised curriculum in schools. The implementation strategy for the revised curriculum involved both in-service training for teachers and whole school planning at classroom and school level. The revised curriculum was the first curriculum to be introduced on a phased basis, with in-service (teacher training) and planning days being provided for all teachers and schools.

**In-service Training**

In-service training days were organized by the Primary Curriculum Support Programme (PCSP), which was established before the launch of the Revised Primary Curriculum. Training days were set up to support and guide the teachers in the implementation of the revised curriculum. During these training days, teachers were introduced to the principles and methodologies of the revised curriculum. This process of in-service training is an important new development in the primary education system. Well-planned training days catering for small numbers of teachers allow for greater professional development and the better implementation of the curriculum. It allows the opportunity for teachers to learn and develop their skills in an interactive way. One of the interviewees for my research study was Primary school teacher, Joe Carroll. Joe is enthusiastic about the new approach to curricular development and in particular the in-service training that was available for all teachers throughout Ireland.

> There have been remarkable developments with the introduction of the new curriculum, in particular, in the area of in-service training for teachers. The days of 200 teachers gathering in the hall of St. Finbarrs hurling club listening is gone. Training days are now held in smaller group sessions and are a much more interactive encounter (Interview with author, 2005).

In-service days are beneficial to all who are involved in music in schools, as participation provides insight into the revised curriculum, the nature and philosophy of music as part of that curriculum, and the various challenges that exist with regard to facilitating music in the primary level classroom.

**Whole School Planning**

Whole school planning is the second area of curricular implementation in the New Revised Curriculum. The school plan is usually a document or series of related documents that are drawn up by the principal and teaching staff. The school plan contains a statement of the educational philosophy of the school, its aims and how it proposes to achieve them. The whole school plan deals specifically with the curriculum of the school and how it is being adapted to the individual school and classroom contexts. It contains the school's policies on a range of areas such as curriculum, administration, organisation, management, professional support and development. It deals with the organisation of the school's resources including staff, space, facilities, time and finances.

While the curriculum is viewed as an important guide for the teaching of subjects at primary level, the whole school plan is the adaptation of the primary curriculum to the individual school setting. The whole school plan provides a link between different class levels. It facilitates a spiral curriculum process, where curriculum material is developed and built on each year. Billy Lynch, principal at Scoil Choilmcille, Cork city, outlines the importance of whole school planning.

> The school planning is very important; it establishes exactly what each class should be achieving in all areas of the curriculum. This is extremely important as, when they progress to the next teacher, the areas they have been working on previously can be built on. The class teacher can refer to the school plan to obtain the areas covered and then go back on those topics. They then can expand and expand on it. The idea is that they are building on the learning. What you do not want is them doing the same thing over and over again. So you must have some kind of a vision (Interview with author, 2005).

Whole school planning is an effective way to adapt the national curriculum to the local education environment. The process empowers the teaching community from the ground up and locates the learning environment of a child firmly within an extended local community. Whole school plans that adapt the centrally devised curriculum are accepted as necessary to the successful administration of the curriculum. This adaptation is an interesting and important aspect of the primary education system. At school level, the particular character of the school is vital in shaping the curriculum's implementation in classrooms. Adaptation of the curriculum to suit the individual school is achieved through the preparation and continuous updating of the whole school plan.

The system of whole school planning has a number of benefits for the development of music at primary level. The system allows the music curriculum to be adapted according to the resources and skills that are available in each school. It creates the opportunity for music activities to be integrated into the classrooms through the use of other subjects. It creates the situation where challenges in some areas can be overcome by sharing of resources, skills and ideas.

**Informal Extra Curricular Provision**

Alongside the formal curricular provisions for music at primary level in Ireland, there are many examples of informal extra-curricular musical learning activities that take place in

various schools across Ireland. As part of my fieldwork I observed a number of these activities. Many of the schools I visited had employed specialist music teachers from the local area to assist the classroom teachers in the development of instrumental skills. Although, there is no formalized music specialist system or indeed any funding for it in Ireland, in many cases primary school principals and teachers are seeking ways to find some funding, to hire music specialists or community musicians to help increase the music skills. A number of reports published by the Arts Council of Ireland (*Arts in Schools Directory*, 2004 and *Arts in Education Directory*, 2007) and projects such as The Bridging the Gap Project (*Evaluation Reports*, 2001-2006) highlight how schools have responded to developing outside support for the provision of musical learning in schools.

**Bridging the Gap Project**

Bridging the Gap was an educational outreach project based at the Department of Education, University College Cork that took place from 2001 to 2006. The project worked with over forty schools and centres in the Cork city area. The aim was to "bridge the gap" between the educational opportunities and achievements of pupils in schools in disadvantaged areas of cork city and those in other areas (*Bridging the Gap Evaluation Report*, 2002). Schools were allocated funding to spend in whatever area they most felt they wanted to carry out school-based research projects. An overwhelming number of schools chose to work on the development of music and in particular on the development of instrumental programmes and performance skills. The evaluation reports highlight how music emerged as an important tool to create a link between the various members of the classroom, school and wider community (*Bridging the Gap Evaluation Reports*, 2003, 2004, 2005 and 2006).

A yearly showcasing event held at University College Cork, organized by the Bridging the Gap project, revealed the important role that music can play in creating links between the students and the wider community. Pupils involved in the various music projects were given the opportunity to visit the university and showcase their skills in front of an audience comprising of other pupils, teachers, principals and local community members. The benefits of engaging in school-based research projects involving members of the school and wider community were highlighted through the showcasing event. Teachers stated that this was a wonderful occasion for students to get the opportunity to showcase their skills developed within the school settings and to perform in front of their peers (*Bridging the Gap Evaluation Report*, 2003). The event also highlighted the positive ways in which teachers can develop their own skills through working alongside arts specialists as part of a school-based project (*Bridging the Gap Evaluation Report*, 2004).

**Agents of Musical Provision**

A recurring theme throughout the study of music at primary level in Ireland is the connections between the various people involved in the provision and application of music education at primary level. This next section continues with a discussion of the main agents involved in the formal curricular and informal extra-curricular provision of music at primary level education in Ireland. Due consideration and understanding of the uniqueness of each classroom setting and school community is included in the development of the following discussion.

**The Classroom Teacher**

From the perspective of a child, the classroom teacher is probably the most prominent individual in the school. Teachers are at the heart of the education system in Ireland. Broadly speaking, teachers are responsible for the learning opportunities they create for their students. Teachers are also seen as leaders. Their focus is to manage the learning experiences in the classroom. Teachers develop class plans to help organize the learning experience and to structure the school day. Teachers are listeners, demonstrators, facilitators, and administrators. They play an important role in facilitating an active learning environment. According to Brian Tubbert, Head of Education at Frobel College of Education, Dublin, teachers 'guide the children to learn how to learn, to question, to discuss among themselves, to discover, to explore, to observe, to test, to record, to display, to present, to make decisions, to take responsibility' (Tubbert 2005, p. 205).

Within the format of the primary education system, teachers are encouraged to facilitate cross-curricular learning, combining subject areas to develop understanding (Revised Primary Music Curriculum 1999). In terms of music as a subject, there are two aspects to cross-curricular learning, the use of music as a tool in the study of other subjects and the continuation of themes or subject matter in the learning of music as a subject. It is a reciprocal process that affects the value of subjects, creating different contexts for students' consideration of music. The classroom teacher plays an important role in facilitating cross-curricular linkage throughout the classroom day and the value systems developed within a particular classroom community.

The knowledge developed within the classroom through the school year creates a relationship between teacher and students. The acknowledgement of each student's individuality can often enhance the learning processes and the integration of students into the

classroom community. The classroom teacher is the sole director of learning within the classroom space and is empowered by the system. Within the classroom space the teacher has control over what is taught, how it is taught and when it is taught. The classroom teacher has the opportunity to facilitate the teaching of music at a time they feel is most appropriate. In a system facilitated by the individual teacher in a confined space, an impression may emerge that subjects have a hierarchical order. Music may be considered optional, merely complimentary to other subjects or used as a reward for good behaviour. Within the format of the primary education system, music is a curricular subject and that curriculum seeks to value music equally within the wider system. Within the confined space of the classroom, the curriculum, as a guideline for education practices, may become separated from practice. The curriculum fails to acknowledge the various manifestations of music within a school and the complexity of connections within and between classroom, school and the wider community.

**Curriculum Leadership: Co-ordinating Music Education**

The introduction of a curriculum co-ordinator with responsibility for music education and performances changes the focus for music education in a primary level school. This system suggests the opening up of classroom spaces, a re-evaluation of music and the development of material resources within the school. The position of co-ordinator ideally provides a central resource for teachers that may enhance the experience and learning of music within the primary level system. The curriculum co-ordinator can facilitate opportunities for professional development for both themselves and other classroom teachers within a school.

The curriculum co-ordinator is a post of responsibility. Sarah Hennessy (1998) outlines the role of the curriculum co-ordinator in the English school system, a model closely related in structure to the Irish education system. In the system outlined by Hennessy, the

music co-ordinators are also music specialists as opposed to classroom teachers, a model that has been adapted informally by some schools in the Irish education system. However, music co-ordinators in the majority of Irish primary schools are classroom teachers. The existence of many small schools makes it challenging to have a specific teacher assigned to each subject area.

In an Irish primary level school, the music co-ordinator can contribute to the development of music in schools by acting as a central resource and as a support for all teachers. From a curricular perspective, a music co-ordinator can help in the implementation of the curriculum guidelines within a school. Within this context, the music co-ordinator can facilitate the development of a spiral curriculum allowing continuity in a student's music education.

Another important role fulfilled by the music co-ordinator is the development and co-ordination of certain material resources within a school. Within a school environment, this can be useful in the provision of skills, instruments and opportunities for shared performance. The inclusion of music, performed by students and, perhaps, teachers, in school events, provides a reason and incentive that enhances the learning process. This context for music in a school creates a re-evaluation of music within the school community, often adding value to music as an activity. The performance of music, even within the confines of a school setting, can help to forge links with the wider community, usually through audience observation. In turn, this process enhances and changes our perspective of music only as a curricular subject confined to people within the school environment.

**Music Specialists / Community Musicians**

In the primary education system in Ireland, a number of opportunities have arisen for the employment of music teachers who are not necessarily, or formally, part of the permanent teaching staff of a school. The term 'music specialist' can often create an attitude that music is a special subject that is not accessible to everybody. Thus, a paradoxical situation is created that challenges models of education that employ specialist music teachers to present opportunities for access to music education, while simultaneously re-emphasising the specialisation required for the professional pursuit of a career in music (Hennessy, 1998). However, Anthony Everitt suggests that 'participatory music', based on the role of music in contemporary British schools and society, is not under threat and music continues to involve large numbers of people, in a natural way, without undue financial constraints (Everitt, 1997). Therefore, there is a need to relate the naturally occurring musical activity of communities and societies in which a school is located with the musical activity of the school itself.

Musicians within the surrounding community often occupy music specialist positions. A link is therefore created between the musical activity of the school and its surroundings. The role of the music specialist is often undefined and can vary greatly between schools. The school principal or curriculum co-ordinator generally selects the individuals involved. The selection of a music specialist is often based on musical reputation, ability and availability. These individuals become empowered to make the choices that create the structures for musical learning in the school. There is a fundamental need to acknowledge the process of selecting and training music specialists, particularly in relation to the skills of teaching. The lack of formal recognition of music specialists in the Irish education system is reflected by the dearth of literature, particularly regarding the selection process, the role of music specialists and the training provided, or required, for the post.

Musicians employed in the role of a music specialist in a school setting most often provide instrumental training, often in tin-whistle, recorder and percussion. This provides a partial music education that may be perceived to be somewhat exclusive. The introduction of a music specialist challenges the hierarchical ordering of subjects and, in many ways, removes music from this order. The music specialist focuses primarily on the teaching of music as an individual subject, perhaps, separate from the primary school curriculum. However, if the music specialist can work within the remit of the whole school setting in collaboration with the classroom teacher, the music specialist can make a significant contribution to the overall musical activities in the classroom. In such a system, a child centred learning approach and the acknowledgement of individuals within the learning community can be achieved.

**Increasing Connections**

Although there is much evidence of community involvement in schools throughout Ireland, this is not formally recognized and much of it is inconsistent. Many of the community projects that fund music specialists are short term and once off. There remain many issues and challenges with regard to creating a system of equitable opportunity where all children can experience and participate in musical learning in Ireland. The notion of systemic development within the Irish education system has remained central to the discourse in the Irish context. There are number examples of research studies that brought these issues to the fore including, *A National System of Local Music Education Services: Report of a Feasibility Study* (2003) and *Points of Alignment: The Report of the Special Committee on the Arts and Education* (2008).

Although there are many opportunities for children to experience music in Ireland, this is often dependant on economic, social and geographic conditions. For that reason, the primary school system still remains an important place where all children can be accessed. From my discussions with principals and teachers and my personal observations, it is clear that in the context of current system there are a number of areas that could be developed immediately to help co-ordinate music better in schools.

In-service days are beneficial to all who are involved in music in schools; perhaps it may be useful for outside community teachers to attend similar type in-service training days that will introduce them to the various curriculum strands and formal aspects to music in the classroom. It could also provide an opportunity to integrate the classroom teachers and visiting music specialists who are often found working together without much prior planning or common understanding.

The system of whole school planning has a number of benefits for the development of music at primary level. Considering the various specialists who work in schools it may be important to consider their skills while developing the Whole School Plan. Similarly it would be extremely useful for the schools who hire music specialists to involve them in the development of the Whole School Plan or even to make a copy of the plan available, to promote integration, continuation and a common vision with regard to provision.

Although there is no formal provision for the employment of outside specialist teachers in Ireland, it was clear from my conversations with principals and teachers that they feel that there is a need to engage specialist teachers. In an interview with school Principal, Billy Lynch discussion centred on the role and significance of music specialists. Lynch draws upon international references in relation to the hiring of specialist music teachers. In relation to his observations of other European systems, Lynch stated:

> Observing the systems used in other European Schools highlights to me the importance of outside help for music. Music is a tough subject for teachers, many don't feel confident and through our involvement with the Bridging the Gap project, we have been able to hire a music specialist which has in turn boosted our provision of music in the school (Interview with author, 2005).

Principal Jack Durkan also believes that schools will always need a combination of internal and external resources to implement music in schools' (Interview with author, 2005).

Durkan stated:

> Schools will always need a combination of internal and external resources to implement music in schools. Through collaboration with external experts the skills of classroom teachers can be enhanced and essentially, the provision of music can be achieved throughout the system (Interview with author, 2005).

The Bridging the Gap Project also revealed many examples of how teachers can work in collaboration with outside specialists in a way that can enhance teachers professional practice and broaden the range of teaching and learning resources available within the school and local community environment (*Bridging the Gap Evaluation Report*, 2004).

**Making Connections: Linking Classroom, School and Community**

Music can function to create links between a classroom, school and community. Although these activities are often considered extra-curricular, there are elements that compliment areas set out in the curriculum. In 1931 Norton argued that simultaneous involvement in both school and community music activities enhances the music activities of both communities Similarly in 1954, Arthur Haas recognized the role of music as a link in drawing the school and community closer together. In 1982, David Walker also suggests that music teachers play an important role in community development. In her seminal work on the transmission of music in Irish culture McCarthy (1999) notes how students can benefit from links that are made between classroom, schools and communities.

This paper has presented a number of important themes in relation to the interconnectedness of classroom, school and community in Ireland. Based on the roles presented by the agents involved in the provision of music education, the complexities of music simultaneously as a school subject and as a part of the fabric of society are highlighted. The study reveals how the classroom as a primary space for learning is at the locus of a wider cultural and community environment. It has also shown how reciprocal connections exist between the agents within these environments. The wider community is significant as it can potentially play a role in the development and enhancement of the learning environment in schools. The school community can also engage with and contribute to the wider community setting.

The research has highlighted how connections have already formed between various agents located within the school environment and in the wider community. Classroom teachers and outside community agents are pursuing various collaborations which extend the educational environment for students and locate the learning within the wider community and cultural setting.

Within the context of the classroom, school community and the wider community, music has emerged as an important medium for the expression of connectedness. Music is unique in the way it can facilitate students to connect their learning within their school environment in relation to their wider community. In order to enhance and extend the opportunities available to all students, classroom teachers and local community members, these connections must be acknowledged and considered in the future development of the primary level education system in Ireland.

This investigation of the primary school system in Ireland reveals that there are two approaches used simultaneously in the provision of music education at primary level in Ireland: The formal curricular based teaching, implemented by the classroom teacher, and the

informal, extra-curricular work, involving the classroom teacher and various members of the school community and the wider community. It reveals that there are three main agents involved in the co-ordination of music at primary level: the classroom teacher, the music curriculum co-ordinator and the music specialist.

By entering the environment of the classroom, the study presented an understanding of the role of music at primary level and it highlights how music is 'unique' in the way it makes connections between the classroom, the school community and the wider community outside of the schools. It also highlights how ground up developments have occurred naturally and informally. School communities have extended to involve naturally, people and musicians in the local area.

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# Relations between identity and educational quality within pre-service music teacher training

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*Abstract*
Pre-service music teacher training is organised in various ways in different countries as well as in different institutions for music teacher education. In the present case it was organised in two parts, both of which were mandatory for all students to participate in. One concerned instrumental teacher training. Here, each trainee observed and taught one student over a year, guided by a supervisor who was a teacher of that same instrument. The other part involved training in elementary and lower secondary school classroom teaching. Over a total of two years, trainee groups observed and taught a music class for one day per week in some semesters, and longer periods in others. The trainees were guided by one of the school's music teachers who took on the role of a supervisor.

**How can pre-service training be studied with respect to educational quality?**

If we imagine the supervisor as a teacher, and the trainees as her or his students, pre-service music teacher training can be understood as teaching-learning situations. Such a perspective opens up the possibility for studying educational quality in pre service music teacher training as *the quality of teaching and learning*, which is a concept as well as a category of the scholarship on educational quality in higher education generally (see e.g. Stensaker & Maasen, 2005). Following this, and exchanging 'teaching' with 'supervising', we mapped out and described what supervisors and trainees in pre-service music teacher training perceived as good supervision and good learning.

*What do we mean by quality?*

Internationally, a multitude of tests, evaluation forms, and procedures have been designed to assess quality in higher education. As discussed elsewhere (Johansen, 2007; 2008; 2009), when applied to the quality of teaching and learning such assessment activities are reported to have dissatisfied academic staff's perspectives on the real substantive dimensions of quality (Anderson, 2006, Johns & De Saram, 2005). Hence, we wanted to ask staff members and their students about what they perceive and experience those real substantive quality dimensions to be. Within our previous studies of the quality of teaching and learning, professors and students reported that the notion of a continuum between *surface* and *deep learning* was a fruitful tool to grasp and discuss such quality in their various institutions (Ferm & Johansen, 2008). Hence we wanted to utilise this continuum in the present study as well.

Surface learning entails strategies for memorizing and reproducing knowledge in order to pass tests and examinations. As such, it is probably linked to negative attitudes towards learning in general. Deep learning, on the other hand, denotes strategies for meaningful

learning. This occurs when learners understand the potential in what is learned for understanding their own teaching practice as well as for their communication with professors and peers about theoretical issues. Contrary to surface learning, deep learning is linked to a positive attitude to learning in general.

Learning in pre-service music teacher training was thought of in terms of participation in communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998; 2006). Within these terms, the extent to which learning can be thought to be deep or superficial was understood in relation to negotiations of meaning and the formation of identity.

*The study*

Within the present study two trainee focus groups were inteviewed, one concerning instrumental teaching, and the other directed towards classroom music teaching, along with two supervisors in each field. There were themes among the interview issues concerning the trainees' learning and successful supervision, along with others concerning identity formation. Taking these themes as a point of departure, I now focus on the following question:

*How do trainees and supervisors in pre-service music teacher training describe the quality of supervision and learning in relation to identity?*

From this perspective the analytical questions were honed down to:

- What do trainees and supervisors talk about when using the word 'identity'?
- When talking about identity, to what degree and in what ways do they connect identity with the quality of supervision and learning?
- How can the emerging connections between identity and the quality of teaching and learning be understood in the light of the sociological theories of identity in Hall (1992), Giddens (1990; 1991) and Gee (2001)?

This choice of theory implied that the understandings that were developed drew on a sociological analysis of the contemporary condition of society as one of late modernity.

Stuart Hall's (1992) concept of a sociological self is based on Mead's (1962) and the symbolic interactionists' conception of identity as an inner core, formed in relation to others who we perceive to be significant. Contrary to this, the post-modern self is de-centred into open, contradictory, unfinished, fragmented identities (ibid., p. 291). This notion of multiple identities conceives of the self as having no fixed, permanent or essential core. Rather, it is formed and transformed continuously in relation to the ways we are represented or addressed in the cultural systems which surround us (ibid.. p. 272). Anthony Giddens (1990; 1991) conception of identity as a reflexive narrative project, entails the narrative "I tell myself and others about who I am". Hence, individuals' identity work can be described as keeping the narrative going. From a sociolinguistic perspective James Paul Gee's (2001) understanding of identity as performative contributed to regard it as natural, institutional, discursive and affinity oriented. In this sense it resembles Hall's (1992) post-modern self.

## Results

I have chosen to present a selection of the results sorted into: quality and the trainees' identities; quality and the supervisors' identities; and finally, quality and relations *between* the identities of trainees and supervisors.

### *Quality and the trainees' identity*

1. Quality seemed to be affected by the trainees' images of themselves when *entering* the training contexts. Some report that they shift their identity from, say, a general music student or violinist, to one of a music teacher trainee. Others experience similarly deep

learning by maintaining a core identity from which they *approach* their various study situations, including pre-service training.

a. The shifts as well as maintenance of a core identity involved here can be understood in terms of Hall's (1992) post-modern and sociological self, and the multiplicity of late modernity.
b. In Gee's terms, even if specific student identities are defined by the institution when they are accepted at the entrance tests – as for example a music teacher student or a musician student – continuous discursive identity negotiations are going on between students as well as between students and teachers.
c. Drawing on Giddens (1990; 1991), we could look at the interviewees' stories about how they relate to the two settings of the institution and the training field, moving back and forth between them as parts of their reflexive, identity narratives – keeping the narrative going.
d. Similar analyses could be carried out for each of the next points, but due to the format of this essay I will keep the following close to the empirical data.

2. Quality is affected by the trainees' identity processes *within* the course of their training.
    a. The feeling of safeness in the trainee situation promotes deep learning and strengthens trainee identity by causing a positive spiraling between identity and deep learning.
    b. Hence, as reported by the supervisors, the quality of the trainees' learning is related to their identity formation, including their identity construction, maintenance and revisions *during* the course of their training.

3. Quality is affected by the connection between a trainee identity and an identity as a teacher.
    a. The trainees reported that their deep learning is dependent on a feeling of success as a teacher. Such experiences of success should however not lead to the self image as a trainee becoming blurred to the benefit of an identity as an already capable teacher. This is because it is necessary to continue to see yourself as a *trainee* to continue to develop as a teacher.

4. Quality is affected by the trainees' identity trajectories between pre-service training and the institution.
    a. One of the supervisors highlighted this connection by linking it to reflection. In pre-service music teacher training the quality of supervision and learning was connected to the trainees' reflections on their practical teaching experiences, as related to identity, and the supervisors' ability to enhance that reflection. Within the relevant theoretical subjects at the educational institution, reflections about what was learnt theoretically were the practices of those subjects. In the confluence of these two kinds of reflection quality was enhanced. The quality of supervision and learning in pre-service teacher training was dependent on the quality of teaching and learning within the subjects at the institution, and vice versa. These locations of reflection constitute important parts of students' identity trajectories, and play a vital role in their learning. From this perspective, identity is related to learning, in that identity formation, its construction, maintenance and revision, emerges as a reflective project close to Giddens' (1991) notion of identity as the ongoing narrative we tell ourselves about who we are.

*Quality and supervisors' identities*

5. Quality is affected by supervisors' images of themselves as supervisors.
    a. This can be exemplified by one supervisor reporting to change the way (s)he looked at her-/himself when moving from performing into a supervising situation, while another reported not doing so. Drawing on Hall (1992), this illustrates how sociological and post-modern notions of self existed side by side among the supervisors as well as the trainees. Our first supervisor connected the quality of supervising to supervisors' ability to change their identity from a performing musician to a supervisor when entering a supervising situation. This can be seen as being connected to a notion of a professional self without an inner core, or in Hall's terms, a post-modern self, which makes it possible to maintain several identities and change between them in a dynamic foreground-background process according to changing situations and circumstances. Such kinds of identity operations are commonly reported within the literature on the identity formation of music teachers as well as student music teachers (Bouij, 1998; Dolloff, 2006; Roberts, 1991; Ferm& Johansen 2008, Johansen, 2009). The other supervisor reported looking at her-/himself as the same professional, and hence not changing identity from one situation to another. This supervisor held that looking at oneself as a musician all the way promoted the quality of supervising because "it is all about working with music – to perform music or to help others perform music". Hall (1992) again: This illustrates a sociological notion of self, a self with an inner core that, even if it is open to influence by significant others, is maintained from situation to situation, and constitutes a perspective from which all professional challenges – from performing music to supervising trainees – are regarded.

b. Another variation of changing the way one looks at oneself was reported by a supervisor as a need to shift rapidly back and forth between the roles of children's teacher and students' supervisor, and sometimes also taking on the role of a child in class when observing trainees teaching. Theoretically speaking, these attitudes are connected to a post-modern notion of self. Changing between a teacher and supervisory identity is looked upon as a means to promote trainees' learning. One example is playing the part of a child in class, which does not denote a change of identity but rather a supervision strategy. This choice of strategy is made possible by taking on a supervisory identity.

*Quality and the relations between the identities of trainees and supervisors*

1. Quality is affected by how trainees' identity is related to supervisors' self images.
    a. The students reported a discrepancy between seeing yourself as a trainee, and as a teacher in training situations. This dichotomy is fragile if the supervisor is not safe in her/his *supervisor* role. If, for example, trainees are treated mostly like colleagues and not clearly as trainees it can be fun, but the risk is that the trainees experience surface learning.

2. Quality is affected by how supervisors handle trainees' identities
    a. This is connected to how supervisors observe and handle the wide variation of ways of seeing oneself and levels of awareness about their role among the trainees.

3. Quality is affected by the ways in which supervisors' identity expectations harmonise with trainees' self identities. Here we meet implicit notions of a post-modern and sociological self once more.

a. Some of the supervisors expected the students to look at themselves as future music teachers when entering training contexts and situations, even if not always addressed explicitly. One supervisor put this most strongly: “that is why I am here”. One of her most significant obligations as a supervisor was to encourage trainees to adopt a teacher trainee identity when entering teaching situations. Trainees who do not change or adopt a teacher trainee identity, for example maintaining an identity as musicians while the supervisor expect them to be trainees, run the risk of superficial learning and not developing sufficiently as a teacher. According to this point of view, trainees who have previous experience of working with children in, for instance, choirs or wind bands, may still give a good impression but will not be able to build on these experiences for further development.
b. Other supervisors held that trainees should not necessarily discard their identities as performing musicians because teaching is very much about performing, in the senses of the modulation of your voice and body language. Furthermore, music is a kind of communication which exceeds words, it was held, and besides, the music teacher is also a defender of the subject in everything she or he does. A strong and clear connection to a high level of musical competence is essential for trainees’ professional success in the future, which in turn affects the quality of supervising and learning.

*Concluding remarks*

In the various arenas of pre-service music teacher training, there is potential for achieving deep student learning by supervisors and trainees working together with identity issues. Such discussions are also applicable for establishing connections between pre-service music teacher

training and the subjects studied at the institution, including helping students to make their learning trajectories explicit.

From a sociological perspective it is interesting to observe how sociological and post-modern notions of self (Hall, 1992) are played out among supervisors as well as trainees within their ongoing, reflexively constructed narratives of who they are as trainees and supervisors (Giddens, 1990; 1991). To regard identity as something connected to performance (Gee, 2001), and as something that can be changed from situation to situation – or in other words the possibility of handling parallel identities in a kind of foreground-background play – requires a notion of identity which is close to Hall's (1992) post-modern self. However, I have illustrated how sociological notions of self (ibid.) were also present among the interviewees. These functioned well for looking at various challenges from more or less the same identity perspective.

The present study contributes to empirical evidence that such notions of self actually exist and are not just theoretical constructs. Following this the study also provides at least some information about how and to what degree such insights relate to music teacher education and in particular to the quality of supervising and learning within pre-service music teacher training.

Even if much of my reasoning at first sight has sounded like purely psychological, it is made possible by sociological understandings of identity who are founded on a sociological analysis of the contemporary condition of society as one of late modernity. This condition also entails the social and cultural frames within which the trainees operate in general, inside as well as outside the institution for music teacher education. Without these sociological insights most of what I have presented could not have been seen.

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# A Dichotomy of Experience in Irish traditional music – Classroom V Community

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*Abstract*

Irish traditional music has never before been in a position of such prominence within post-primary music education, and the support for it within the curricula is unprecedented in the history of formal music education in Ireland. Community, experience, and relationships amongst people are ultimately what the tradition is about, and its advance into the realm of formal education has given rise to many questions. This paper investigates the extent to which a holistic understanding and appreciation of Irish traditional music is being realized by post-primary music teachers and students in Ireland. It queries the existing experiential dichotomy between classroom and community, and proposes a shifting of focus from a formal learning perspective to draw instead on those informal learning practices which through which Irish traditional musicians acquire their musical skills and knowledge outside the school. Echoing the sentiments of John Blacking (1976), Irish traditional music is too deeply concerned with human feelings and experiences in society for the existence of such degree of contextual separation. Considered are the philosophies of John Dewey and Richard Shusterman on the aesthetics of experience. For example, how can Dewey's Theory of Experience which promotes a continuum of deeply felt and fully embodied experiences be further realized in the music classroom? On the background of well-grounded theoretical and philosophical perspectives, with analysis of supporting fieldwork, the extent to which an understanding of the tradition's cultural and social processes is being realized through current pedagogical structures is investigated, as is the means by which we can progress to further promote a 'fully embodied' experience of the tradition for both students and teachers.

The concept of music, according to Wayne Bowman, 'though fluid, is moored by human practices… whatever form it takes, whatever values and functions it assumes, it is invariably situated in the social world of human relations and interactions, in practices and values that answer to consensually validated standards' (Bowman 2005, p. 63). As human undertakings, he continues, 'musical practices are inextricably bound up in relations between and among people' (p. 70). The concept and practice of Irish traditional music encompasses a matrix of meanings and values, rituals, beliefs and ideologies that include, yet reach far beyond the music alone. The Irish musical tradition is, as Bowman infers, about people. It is about the musician, listener, composer and dancer. It is about place, and remembering scattered moments in time. It lives and breathes through the ebb and flow of tradition and innovation, carefully negotiating the passing of time. It is about so many different things, and the deep meaning and value experienced by those who engage with the tradition, is a result of a continuum of interrelated experiences arising out of this social world human interaction. Given the diverse nature of the tradition, the important role it plays through the lives of many people, the richness of the tradition when it is considered in its various contexts, and the social and cultural values that are deeply embedded in the tradition, it is understandable that certain conflicts and challenges arise when an experience of this tradition is considered through the formal lens of a music curriculum.

Inextricably bound up with the word 'tradition', the Irish musical tradition, and its most common meaning of 'a general process of handing down' (Williams, 1983) is that of the notion of community. The concept of community involving meaning, values and experience around the practice of Irish traditional music, and the human interaction that comes into play around this practice, is central to a tradition which has evolved from being until relatively recently, a primarily geographically-bound, or regionally-based concept, to becoming a trans-national practice of shared relationships and experiences among people. These 'community values' in Irish traditional music seem to reach beyond the commonly held definitions of

community and point to something which runs deeper, something which seemingly defies all tangible boundaries.

For instance, Helen O'Shea's observations during a visit to Pepper's bar in Feakle, a community nestled near the Sliabh Aughty mountains in County Clare whose musical culture has always been a major focal point over the years, provide some insight where she talks about attitudes that draw upon the 'mythology of Irish traditional music with its old men, its ideals of musical continuity and communication, of shared values and generosity' (O' Shea 2008, p. 122). In his paper Dearnad sa Brochán: Tradition and Change in Music in a Donegal Community, Lillis Ó Laoire discusses the boundary lines between local, regional and global (Ó Laoire, 1996), while Scott Reiss alludes to the fact that 'there is no absolute consensus in Ireland as to what traditional music is, or rather, what its boundaries are' (Reiss 2003, p. 146). He continues, 'traditional music defines not a single community, but multiple communities with overlapping senses of identity' (p. 146) and refers to Fintan Vallely's description of traditional music communities as 'normally either local, or united by a common aesthetic, "a feel" for the interrelationships of players with their sources, audiences and their local history' (Vallely, 1997, 143). McCarthy also infers a notion of community in her discussion of Irish traditional music in nineteenth century Ireland where she talks about traditional music being passed on as part of the socialization process, supported by a cohesive system of values that imbued the learning process with social meaning and cultural relevance (McCarthy, 2004). These observations allude to the fact that it is through shared and personal encounters that Irish traditional music is experienced, involving some sense of boundary lines, a sense of place, relationships, overlapping identities, a certain unity, a cohesive system of values, social meaning and, cultural relevance. During a lecture (as part of the Blas International Summer School for Irish Music and Dance held at the Irish World Academy of Music and Dance, University of Limerick in June 2009) Iarla O'Loinaird quite poetically described the Irish

musical tradition as being among other things, a matrix for the reaffirmation of kinship, a collective bond of blood and belief, and a porous skin that separates us from outsiders.

What we have here is a picture portraying the world of Irish traditional music as a restless, breathing and ever-evolving social as well as musical phenomenon, one which is deeply and unconditionally concerned with the world outside the music itself. This picture portrays the music as reaching out to a community of people who then feel a responsibility towards the music and the way in which it is passed on, a community of people who then feel a sense of ownership of the tradition once they have in some way identified with those values that have for so long, gone hand-in-hand with the transmission of the tradition.

Considering on the one hand the aforementioned intangible yet deeply insightful interpretations of the tradition, and on the other, the tradition in its new-found home of the post-primary music syllabi, one has to wonder on which side of this 'porous skin' the realm of this formal education in Irish traditional music sits. Where music teachers and students now have the opportunity to experience Irish traditional music through the Performing, Composing and Listening requirements of the Music syllabi, with a requirement to focus on an elective study at Leaving Certificate level through one of the aforementioned strands, it is not unreasonable to suggest that all music teachers and students should consider themselves as participants of the tradition, and as such, important contributors where the maintenance of social fabric of the tradition is concerned. That is to say, wide-ranging influence that can, and should follow on, from the incorporation of this musical genre in the music curriculum - on music students and teachers, on the school environment, on tradition musicians and the tradition itself, and into society in general. Those who have grown up with and experienced the Irish musical tradition, those who have found meaning in the tradition, those whose lives gives relevance to the tradition and whose lives are given relevance by the tradition, and those who simply enjoy and relate to the Irish musical tradition in some way, can understand the positive influence that meaningful engagement with Irish traditional music can have on ones

life. Meaningful engagement therefore, in the context of the experience of the tradition in the classroom could involve, for example:

- an incorporation of the Irish musical tradition in the classroom which honours the wider meaning, values and social practices associated with the tradition
- the employment of a pedagogical framework which enables a student to respond to the music in a way that will enhance their understanding, and provide the experience and tools for future meaningful engagement.

Irish traditional music in the context of the post-primary music curriculum has never before been in a position of such prominence within post-primary music education in Ireland, and support for it within the music curricula is unprecedented in the history of formal music education in Ireland. This inclusion and development of Irish traditional music within the post–primary music curriculum over the past few decades has created the potential for music teachers and students to have meaningful, holistic experiences of Irish traditional music through the Junior and Leaving Certificate syllabi. This being the case, Irish traditional music in this particular educational context can add, in its own way, to the rich tapestry of the Irish traditional music community. For this to happen however, given its advance into this realm of formal education, comes a responsibility of ensuring that experiences of the tradition through the music curriculum are respectful of, and relevant to, the meaningful and engaging experiences of the tradition in its other contexts.

The title of this paper, 'Classroom V Community - A Dichotomy of Experience in Irish traditional music' is presumptive of the notion that a degree of separation exists between the experience of the tradition in its community context, and that of a music teacher and student's experience of the tradition through the post-primary music curriculum. This is not to say that the classroom environment should necessarily mirror or replicate these other contexts where Irish traditional music is experienced, or that an experience of Irish traditional music

can fall along some line of calculable degree of validity or authenticity. It does suggest however that because 'Irish traditional music is a social phenomenon as much as a musical one' (Reiss 2003, p. 146), we should further encourage an experiential dimension of Irish traditional music among music teachers and students which bears relevance to the wider social practices of the Irish traditional music community. It suggests that there could be room for a greater degree of awareness and understanding where the experience of Irish traditional music in post-primary education is concerned, having as Barbara Lundquist states, 'sensitivity to the pedagogy employed with the musical tradition that is being taught', where 'we enhance our students learning when we try to make the processes of instruction and learning congruent with the musical genres or styles we are teaching' (Lundquist, 1998), or in the words of Virginia Garrison:

> Moreover, if Irish traditional music serves to fulfill society's need for a sense of community, provide for that community's need for cultural identity, and offer aesthetic gratification to that community through Irish traditional music, the presence of these aspects of community, identity and satisfaction should find some equivalence in the formal classroom environment (Garrison, 1985).

So if the ties that bind these two environments are a little frayed, resulting in a certain unrealized experiential potential through the Junior and Leaving Certificate, and if their relationship to one another seems a little awkward and unsure, the first steps in reconciling any such relationship is to ensure that dialogue is encouraged between the two, and that each side's voice is heard, respected and listened to.

A survey I conducted amongst 80 post-primary music teachers in 2008 considered this relationship with four general areas in mind namely:

1. A music teacher's experience, if any, of Irish traditional music prior to commencing their initial teacher training.
2. A music teacher's experience of Irish traditional music during their initial teacher training.

3. Query into the various pedagogies employed the classroom, including their thoughts and opinions on how this genre is taught in the classroom and,

4. A music teacher's opinion on the availability, use and, effectiveness of resources pertaining to the genre.

On analysis of this survey, it was revealed that 90% teachers surveyed thought that improvements could be made on how teachers are trained to teach the Irish traditional music section of the syllabi. On further investigation, the general area of concern for teachers seemed to point to the absence of bridges linking Irish traditional music within the formal setting of the classroom and that of the community. The following views expressed by respondents are mainly directed at areas of: increased support at post-primary level; alternative approaches at initial teacher training; increased provision of resources and the means to acquire such; the establishment of working relationships with the traditional music community etc., which could facilitate change and progress in the area:

> Teacher 1: A resource pack of CDs, DVDs to get started. Newly qualified teachers are often unaware of what CDs, etc. to buy.
>
> Teacher 2: There's always room for improvement
>
> Teacher 3: That the fear of the music should be removed. I gained my teaching qualification in a trad-orientated university. I think other universities are not as like-minded and a stronger grounding and understanding is needed in these establishments. Also some Higher Diploma training in music doesn't involve classes with the on-campus department which would also help
>
> Teacher 4: Irish Music is a lived experience. Commitment to that experience is necessary to teach it effectively. It's the difference between choosing to do something and having to do something - no contest really.
>
> Teacher 5: More in-service . . . yearly, especially in performing aspects.
>
> Teacher 6: Any in-service on this subject would be welcome. It would be a great help if more workshops were on in Dublin for students. CCE are opening a new centre on the north side of Dublin and I would love to link up with them at some time. Is it true that it's easier to take up the uilleann pipes if you can play the recorder?
>
> Teacher 7: Exposure to live music. . . Visiting guest performers to illustrate how the instruments are made and played. It would be good to receive tuition in a very

simple instrument such as the tin-whistle that you could then pass on to your students. Time should be spent teaching the traditional music section of the syllabi to the trainees. It is always ignored and you're left to figure it out yourself.

Teacher 8: Irish traditional music isn't really covered in some BA/MUS courses and some of my friends who are qualified music teachers with an honours dip wouldn't be able to tell me the difference between a reel and a jig.

Teacher 9: Teachers are not trained in colleges on how to teach the criteria of what is on the curriculum - we are not instructed as time is limited on the dip too, how to approach teaching the subject.

Teacher 10: More workshops.

Teacher 11: Closer involvement with specialist teachers/performers . . . session experience in school . . . working with musicians in school time.

Teacher 12: Universities are not totally (and are not meant to be) geared to providing answers to secondary teaching.

Teacher 13: It depends on the university they went to. In-service would help I suppose.

Teacher 14: More In-service in the areas of Irish music, perhaps curricular/website for music teachers to share information as there is little material available for teachers suited to the levels needed for Junior and Leaving cert exams. There is a need for more available information regarding the practical aspect of the examinations, where the student chooses to perform on an Irish instrument.

Teacher 15: Workshops on Irish music. The one run by the PPMTA on Sean Nós singing last year by a nun was excellent, but there should definitely be more of these.

Teacher 16: More time is focused on classical music and less on traditional Irish music.

Teacher 17: More time could be spent on this area with emphasis on resources.

Teacher 18: Teachers who are not Irish traditional music players seem to be very afraid of the subject.

Teacher 19: 1. To start with, it should be included as part of courses. Student teachers should leave their course with at least a solid grounding in the area. 2. Student teachers should be made familiar with what is exciting and dynamic in traditional music in general 3. Approaches to methodology should be thought through from a traditional music perspective (e.g. learning by ear).

Teacher 20: More in-service for active teachers in area of Irish Music - greater opportunity for undergraduates to explore Irish traditional music by playing instruments.

> Teacher 21: Improvements can definitely be made. In-service days in this area would help considerably.
> Teacher 22: A short in-service with follow up workshops on instrumentation, ornamentation.
>
> Teacher 23: Added on to the syllabus would be a start. I did nothing on traditional music in college.
>
> Teacher 24: I would really appreciate any in-service going on traditional music. It's a big question marks-wise on both JC and LC. Most music teachers come from a classical background and would benefit greatly from any help at all.
>
> Teacher 25: a greater focus should be put on it.
>
> Teacher 26: I'm really not sure what happens currently in teaching training for Traditional Music but I feel that there should be designated modules to introduce student teachers to Irish music and should include at least the playing of tin whistle.
>
> Teacher 27: more hands on experience.
>
> Teacher 28: Aspiring teachers should be pointed towards suitable resources. Also, the requirements for JC and LC Irish Music should be highlighted.
>
> Teacher 29: Guidelines for LC very comprehensive, work of PPMTA.
>
> Teacher 30: I don't think that music students nowadays have to perform on traditional instruments / voice (in an exam type practical as part of their degree course). It was something that I wasn't too fond of during my undergrad days but it does definitely help in the classroom situation. I can play a few tunes on the tin-whistle and demonstrate ornaments etc. Music courses should make this compulsory (as all of them should also make a practical performance exam compulsory. Having had seven Music H.Dips in my classroom over the last eight years - I think that performance should be made a large portion of any music degree - especially if the music students want to go on to teach).
>
> Teacher 31: It should be based on more practical and aural elements of Irish music.

It is widely accepted that any music education system, if it is to work successfully, must have with complete certainty, an underlying philosophy with which it can connect. Whether this philosophy takes into adequate consideration the wide-ranging socio-cultural values associated with Irish traditional music, lies at the heart of the perceived dichotomy between classroom and community. With just over a quarter of those surveyed (27%) felt

that they had been 'quite well equipped' to teach the traditional music section of the syllabi with 69% feeling that they were 'not very well equipped' (32%) or 'not equipped at all' (37%) suggests that this connection is not being fully realized.

As music education is built upon these philosophical foundations, which in terms of the sociology of Irish traditional music education would seem to have had far-reaching consequences, it is vital that the application of philosophy to Irish traditional music education be carefully considered. Since the 1950s in particular, music educators have witnessed major developments in the philosophical underpinnings of their profession, which suggest why music education matters, what is most important for music students to learn; and how music education ought to be carried out. Those philosophies which today form the backbone of music education philosophy are the Music Education as Aesthetic Education movement, which is without little question the most widely acknowledged philosophical orientation in music education for almost four decades, and associated widely with the publication of Bennett Reimer's Philosophy of Music Education in 1960, and David Elliott's Praxial Philosophy of Music Education, which embodied in Music Matters in 1995, challenged the position of the reigning aesthetic philosophy.

Over the last couple of decades and until the present day, debates around the philosophical basis for Music Education seem centred around these opposing aesthetic and praxial philosophies, though not exclusively. Where once the notion of 'music education as aesthetic education' was adopted wholesale by the music education profession, meeting with 'little or no opposition upon its introduction' (McCarthy, 2005, 19), it now faces challenges from an emerging praxial approach. To contextualize these philosophies with regard to this papers sociological perspective, I will briefly summarize. The aesthetic philosophy in essence emerged in the 1950s, and as a philosophy, focused on the musical work and its intrinsic value. According to Reimer, non-musical experiences occur when the listener is not primarily focused on the two necessary components of any experience, which can be called aesthetic –

aesthetic perception and aesthetic reaction. For an experience to be musical 'the perception must be of the artistic qualities of sound and the reaction must be caused by the expressiveness of those qualities' (Reimer, 1970/1989). To look at or listen to something aesthetically, according to David Elliott, means to 'focus exclusively on its sensuous-structural or 'aesthetic qualities' alone, in abstraction from the object's context of social use and production' (Elliott, 2001).

Challenging this aesthetic view of Music Education over the last decade, in a debate which shows little sign of abating, is that of Elliott's Praxial Philosophy of Music Education where Elliott's philosophy is a system of beliefs which challenge the appropriateness of the aesthetic philosophy, and emphasizes that musical knowledge is in our actions; our musical thinking and knowing are in our musical doing and making. Elliot suggests that achieving the aims of music education depends on 'developing the musicianship and listenership of all music students, through engaging students in: performing-and-listening, conducting-and-listening, and listening to recordings and live performances'. He emphasizes that 'music making of all kinds – and of course – the rich kind of music listening required to make music well – should be at the centre of the music curriculum' (Elliott, 2005). These philosophies and the ensuing philosophical debate are still today to the fore of philosophical discussion in music education.

To bring this into its sociological context and highlight the significance of connecting music education philosophy to how and why Irish traditional music is being taught within the post-primary music curricula, I refer to Abeles, Hoffer and Klotman (1995) who state that, 'not only should educators involved in curriculum development understand the fundamental nature of music, they should also be able to articulate an educational philosophy in support of the art of music', and students who are affected by this curriculum 'must be ensured an in-depth understanding of each musical experience that is commensurate with their individual growth and development'. Reimer also suggests that a philosophy that governs what music is

taught, and how and why this music is taught, should comprise a unifying core of principles which are in consonance with what is accepted as true according to the criteria established by the community in question. These principles which are 'in consonance with what is accepted as true according to the criteria established by the community in question is necessary for a convincing and useful set of philosophical guidelines to exist (Reimer, 1992, p. 21 - 22). Philosophical discussion is therefore an informant of curricular design and implementation, and it is hugely important that such philosophy connect with the particular music that is being taught, in agreement with the criteria established by the community in question. In this case, the community in question is the Irish traditional music community.

Although what is offered here is but a glimpse into each philosophy's 'ethos', it is clear that if a philosophy is to suit the context of the musical genre in question, the question we must ask is if either Elliott's praxial orientation, or the established Music as Aesthetic Education movement suit the needs of the Irish traditional music community. Do they acknowledge the complexities of Irish traditional music's relationship with society for example, including its informal and aural associations? Do these philosophies promote an understanding and appreciation of the value of Irish traditional music in society in general among students and teachers? With an era of relative philosophical unity supporting and legitimizing the music education profession over the last half a century, does an adequate 'divergence of understanding', to use Regelski's phrase, of these philosophies exist, to suit the needs of Irish traditional music in a formal music curriculum? In Praxial Music Education: Reflections and Dialogues, Marie McCarthy and J. Scott Goble in fact refer to Michael L. Mark, who noted in 1988 that:

> The new movement toward an aesthetic philosophy was to have the effect of disassociating music education from societal goals, at least in the minds of many music educators… The part that conveys to the public its value to society, was missing (Mark 1998, p. 120).

Seventeen years on, in 2005, Mark's comments still resonate with Regelski's observations that, 'because of the scholastic or academic environment of schools, curriculum for music education has been influenced by philosophical and curricular ideas that are simply unsuited to its nature and to its important role in human life' (2005, p. 220). He continues, 'this influence deserves to be interrogated in light of the perpetual challenges to the relevance of music education in schools' (p. 220). If this is still the case, pedagogical approaches must be put in place in the post-primary music curriculum to reinforce the link that has historically connected the 'aesthetics' of Irish traditional music with societal needs, and ensure that Irish traditional music is not in John Dewey's words, 'separated from both conditions of origin and operation in experience', but instead conceived of in its social significance, and appreciated in its fullness of meaning, putting 'the ideas and ideals involved into complete, uncompromising possession of our school system' (Dewey, 1902). If Irish traditional music is too deeply concerned with human feelings and experiences in society for the existence of such a degree of separation of classroom and community, a refocusing of the formal lens is required. This could incorporate the Deweyan approach to experiential learning in the post-primary music classroom.

John Dewey, an American philosopher born in 1859, has made a hugely significant contribution to the development of educational thinking in the twentieth century. Dewey's significance for education lies in his belief that education must engage with and enlarge experience. His aesthetics believes that art must be integrated with ordinary, everyday life, not thought of as something separate and sealed off from our existence, as traditional aesthetics does. Dewey asks how the young shall become acquainted with the past in such a way that the acquaintance is a potent agent in appreciation of the living present (Dewey, 1938). Deeply inspired by Dewey, Richard Shusterman reinterprets Dewey's essentialist theory of aesthetic experience, and highlights 'the value of experience, deeply felt and fully

embodied experience', 'a stark contrast to a puritanically intellectualist art-world that falsely spurns feeling as understanding (Väkevä, April 2002).

Some of the elements of Dewey's Theory of Experience which are congruent with an experiential driven approach to Irish traditional music in the curriculum are as follows:

- In Experience & Education (1938), Dewey presents the principle that 'education in order to accomplish its ends both for the individual learner and for society must be based upon experience – which is always the actual life-experience of some individual' (p. 89).
- Given what he terms the 'organic connection between education and personal experience', Dewey believes that for an experience to be valuable, the two principles of interaction and continuity between the learner and what is learned throughout the experience, 'as criteria of the value of experience' must be present.
- School subjects according to Dewey must be conceived 'in their social significance, as types of the processes by which society keeps itself going… in short, as instruments through which the school itself shall be made a genuine form of active community life, instead of a place set apart in which to learn lessons' (p. 14).
- He suggests that, 'In critical moments we all realize that… the only training that becomes intuition is that got through life itself. That we learn from experience, and from books or the sayings of others only as they are related to experience' (p. 17)

Dewey, still today, presents a challenge to music educators, and to music teachers to look at ways in which a greater understanding of the Irish musical tradition can be achieved through the post-primary music curriculum. Post-Primary music teachers come to the classroom with a large amount of subject-matter at hand and the challenge lies in relating this knowledge to the minds of the music students to whom it is to be taught, connecting Irish

traditional music as part of the curriculum with life, so that according to Dewey, 'the experience gained by the child in a familiar, commonplace way is carried over and made use of there, and what the child learns in the school is carried back in everyday life, making the school an organic whole, instead of a composite of isolated parts'. In effect, bridging the dichotomy.

What Shusterman and Dewey's ideas could be interpreted as advocating is a study of Irish traditional music that would incorporate a continuum of interrelated experiences of the tradition, the promotion of what Shusterman terms 'fully-embodied' experiences, and an integration of the aesthetic experience of the genre with the normal processes of living so that both the music and the students' lives 'will be improved by their greater integration' (Shusterman, 2000, p. 20). That is to say, Irish traditional music has the capacity to elicit pleasure, feeling and enjoyment in the classroom and beyond, while simultaneously offering the potential for wider meaning and understanding.

This paper aims to highlight some of the issues which arise when a musical genre, such as Irish traditional music, which is embedded with such social and cultural meaning and significance, is placed within the formal structures of a music curriculum which is primarily exam-orientated, often time-constrained, and hugely diverse in terms of content that must be covered. The survey I conducted among post-primary music teachers brought to the fore some concerns regarding the opportunity for cultural and societal engagement with the tradition through the curriculum, and the results hopefully highlight the importance of continuing discussion regarding Irish traditional music in the curriculum.

For example:

- 67% of teachers surveyed stated that there are no opportunities for students to engage in Irish traditional music-making in school
- 89% of teachers surveyed were not presented with the opportunity of developing skills in Irish traditional music in the previous academic year

- The majority of teachers did not feel that they were ‘equipped’ to teach Irish traditional music during their initial teacher training
- 54% of teachers surveyed did not experience ‘live’ Irish traditional music during their initial teacher training

It is interesting to note that those respondents who did experience ‘live’ Irish traditional music during their initial teacher training felt more ‘equipped’ to teach this section of the syllabi. 80% of teachers were not encouraged during initial teacher training to develop community-orientated learning projects in Irish traditional music while those who were, felt that they had been better equipped. 94% of music teachers surveyed would welcome the support of a ‘visiting musician’ to their school, yet 64% of teachers had not had an Irish traditional musician visit their school during the academic year. 39% of teachers surveyed found it possible to incorporate a ‘community’ aspect of Irish traditional music into their teaching of the subject, and 67% were interested in creating a greater awareness of the ‘community aspect’ of Irish traditional music in the classroom.

It is the hope that this paper highlights the pedagogical responsibility that is required to ensure that music students and teachers engage with Irish traditional music in a way that is meaningful and relevant to the community it serves. If the processes of instruction, and the philosophical orientations that have informed these processes do not connect with what is being taught, and account for the wide-ranging sociological dimensions of Irish Traditional music, then we need to step back and look at what it is we are teaching and learning and why. Fostering this relationship will undoubtedly encourage a climate of active participation in the tradition among teachers and students. It will lead to a subject which can serve a purpose beyond education alone to serve the community, create a sense of belonging, social inclusion and with this, a greater understanding and appreciation of the tradition among all those involved.

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# Cage's short visit to the classroom: Experimental music in music education – A sociological view on a radical move

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*Abstract*

The purpose of this paper is to examine some aspects of the cultural, ideological and aesthetic underpinnings of a music education movement whose prime feature has been the use of experimental music and music-making practices within classrooms. The paper explores a number of questions: What are the educational and aesthetic tenets of the endeavours to bring experimental music into the classroom? In what sense could music education be thought of as experimental? What is the relationship of this movement to advances in the realm of contemporary music and to conceptions of human creativity developed in the realm of psychology? How has experimental music education understood childhood, its nature and development? The paper is organized around seven themes which might be seen as describing the basic tenets of experimental music education movement. (1) Experimental-ism vs. avant-garde-ism, (2) Within and without history: Universalism, (3) Piercing vs. opening: experiments and the experimental, (4) Resisting commodification, (5) Locality and the neglect of the local, (6) Learning as disclosing vs. learning as contextual (7) Creativity on demand: openness and predictability. The paper emphasizes that it is important that we revisit such radical efforts today, at a time when a performativity-driven educational ideology dominates, at a time when an unashamed preference for educational technology that successfully produces instant results leads to an increasing exclusion of experimental practices.

> I don't care about reaching the public as much as I care about reaching certain musical-acoustical phenomena, in other words, to disturb the atmosphere. (Edgare Varèse in conversation with Gunther Schuller, 1965, p. 37)

> By this time tomorrow their piece will be refined and carefully notated in a system of their own inventing. They will have thoroughly explored their own music and met on the way with the music of Cowell and Stockhausen. (Paynter & Aston, 1970, p. 1-2).

## Introduction

This paper looks back to the old days of the 60s and the 70s when experimental composers and their music and ideas became a source of inspiration for music educators. I find it particularly important to address this issue at a time when the return of a reactionary logic that laments the death of worshiping the musical past sweepingly ridicules the efforts of progressive music education. For example, Morrison, in an article for *BBC Music Magazine*, argued against the 'disaster in the making' that has been caused by 'the tide of "relativism" (the notion that studying Radiohead, for instance, is as good as studying Beethoven) and of child-centered learning' (2008, p. 21). More recently, (July issue of *BBC Music Magazine*, 2009) and in a masterfully populist manner, the same commentator lamented the lack of classical music listening exercises and dismissed all hands-on creative experiences as 'clapping games' aiming to provide 'just a bland, condescending, "feelgood" notion' (p. 21). At the same time, his core idea about what music education should be about is made abundantly clear: 'feeding' kids with great music of a very particular past, unapologetically and from the very beginning (ibid.). As you see, for some people things are plain and clear, therefore they do not need to bother with symposiums like the 2009 *Sociology and Music Education Symposium*, where a first draft of this paper was read.

'Creative music in education', a movement that flourished roughly from the mid 1960s well into the 1970s, has been approached by various scholars through different perspectives. For example, Gordon Cox (2006) has (over)emphasized the role of recapitulation theory in the thinking of those music educators associated with creative music in education movement, based on Wilfrid Mellers (1964) views that highlighted the links between primitivism, modernism and childhood as the locus of uncontaminated, 'primitive' freedom. It seems, however, that the writings of the avant-garde composers-educators that 'led' this music education movement from the mid 60s onwards show that they did not subscribe to recapitulation theory. In a similarly critical fashion, Bernarr Rainbow (1996) saw '[e]xperimental music in schools' largely as a threat to schools' accepted mission:

> In pursuit of spontaneity a generation of schoolchildren had already grown up without skills which had previously been regarded as essential in elementary education. Theories that children should not be pestered to learn to spell, write grammatically or learn multiplication tables later found a musical counterpart in arguments against teaching the use of notation (p. 15).

In a similar vein, William Salaman (1983) has argued that

> With regard to the uses of avant-garde procedures and sounds in education, I found predeterminism, anarchy and obscurity equally unacceptable. Because of this, I could not bring myself to initiate a course of pseudo-avant-garde work in my school (p. 70).

Contrary to this view, George Odam has argued that 'The ideas developed through this work [the York Project] were profoundly influential on a whole generation of music teachers and represented what I have chosen to call the "Creative Dream"' (2000, p. 110). Robert Walker, in three sequential papers that appeared in the *Psychology of Music* in the early 1980s (Walker, 1983, 1984a, 1984b), based on his book *Music Education - tradition and innovation* (Walker, 1984c), sought to search for the reasons of the 'apparent failure' of those innovative curriculum approaches to sustain the creative dream, suggesting that

> … the real cause of the problem was a failure in some music educators to move away from an eighteenth century view of our perceptual processes. . . … some music educators did not adjust their attitude to children much beyond a mind/body dualism, and concentrated their educational work entirely on the intellectual. It is proposed that the experimentalists did in fact offer a viable and valid approach to music education but that their reasoning was inadequately explicated (1984c, p. 75).

Recent, studies of creative music in education include Stephanie Pitts' (2000) *A century of change in music education* and John Finney's seminal study of *Music Education in England: 1950-2010* (2011). Pitts's account includes a chapter on 'the use of noise to make music', which ends with the assertion that 'the classroom-based discovery and evolution was to have a limited life' (2000, p. 95), failing, in my view, to trace the lines of different developments that occurred within the world of music education as a result of creative music in education movement. This is exactly what Finney's book manages to accomplish, through a methodological structure that allows the reader to delve into subtle descriptions of key moments and the ideas of their protagonists, creating links with larger educational concerns and debates of the different periods, intersecting those with his own personal accounts of the promises and the contradictions of creative music in education, thus offering a rich and experientially driven context for advancing a critical view of a movement whose unprecedented radicalism resonates with a wealth of current practices – see for example, the important work done in the *Birmingham Contemporary Music Group: Learning* project.[1]

In this paper I would like to offer a conceptual map for examining particular aspects of the ideological and aesthetic underpinnings of creative music in education (Dennis, 1970, 1975; Dwyer, 1971; Konowitz, 1973; Orton, 1981 Meyer-Denkmann, 1977 Murray Schafer, 1975, 1976, 1986; Paynter & Aston, 1970; Paynter 1972, 1976, 1982, 1992, 1997, 2000, 2002; Self, 1967, 1975; Thomas, 1970; Tillman, 1976; Walker, 1976).

The paper addresses and attempts to explore the following questions:

- What are the educational, ideological and aesthetic underpinnings of the endeavours to bring experimental music into the classroom?
- In what sense could music education be thought of as experimental?
- How has experimental music education understood childhood, its nature and development?
- What is the relationship of this movement to advances in the realm of contemporary music and to conceptions of human creativity developed in the realm of psychology?

**Studying the role of experimental music in 'creative music in education' movement: Seven themes**

This paper suggests that the analysis of the central features of creative music in education movement and the role of experimental music within it, could be organized through the following seven themes:

1. Experimental-ism vs. avant-garde-ism
2. Within and without history: Universalism
3. Piercing vs. opening: experiments and the experimental
4. Resisting commodification
5. Locality and the neglect of the local
6. Learning as disclosing vs. learning as contextual
7. Creativity on demand: openness and predictability

## 1. Experimental-*ism* vs. avant-garde-*ism*

A core belief shared by composers/teachers associated with creative music in education movement was that education in and through music should begin by creating a space for open experimentation. This experimentation was considered as the basis for linking classroom work with radical music trends of the 20th century. In his *Hear and Now* (1972), John Paynter stated that:

> Already seventy years of the twentieth century have gone by: seventy years in which composers have been working with new musical techniques which grow out of the past but which are firmly related to here and now. So perhaps it's about time we followed them – if only to see what they're up to. We will understand what this music is about much more easily if we make some musical experiments ourselves (1972: 23).

In the same book Paynter quotes composer Christian Wolff saying that contemporary approaches to composition tend 'to be radical, going directly to the sounds and their characteristics' (ibid., p. 17). Here, the idea of experimenting with sounds reveals a conflation of avant-garde progressivism and the distinctive conception of experimental music that was developed by experimental composers such as John Cage, Christian Wolff, the Fluxus artists, Toshi Ichiyanagi and others. Michael Nyman has argued that

> Experimental composers are by and large not concerned with prescribing a defined *time-object* whose materials. Structuring and relationships are calculated and arranged in advance, but are more excited by the prospect of outlining a *situation* in which sounds may occur, a *process* of generating action (sounding or otherwise), a *field* delineated by certain compositional "rules"' (Nyman, 1974/1999, p. 4).

Moreover, 'the experimental composer is interested not in the uniqueness of *permanence but* in the uniqueness of the moment' (ibid*.,* p. 9), whereas for the avant-garde composer 'Creativity resides solely in the passage from the unforeseeable to the necessary' (Boulez,

1991, p. 133). This is a crucial distinction that was not made explicit in the proposed practices of experimental music education.

In this sense, experimental music education mirrors an antinomy that has accompanied modernism in general, 'wishing to encompass both rupture and continuity of tradition' (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000, p. 12). Reading the first two chapters of *Hear and Now* (amply titled *Today's music is for everyone* and *Where have all the good tunes gone?*) forty years later, one feels the almost dramatic effort of John Paynter to reconcile the experimental fervor of the avant-garde with past music, arguing that the difference between the two 'is principally one of style' (Paynter, 1972, p. 18). But in this way, a significant aspect of experimental music, that is, its distinctive conception of the notion of 'experiment' evaporates. What prevails, instead, is a modernist notion of 'experiment', an emphasis in the value of a permanent process of achieving novelty, which is the *sine qua non* of the avant-garde. Closely related to this issue that creative music educators' universalistic approach to the making of music. It is to this that we must now turn.

## 2. Within and without history: Universalism

Christopher Small's seminal *Music, Society, Education* (1977) advanced a vision of music education as an active form of social critique, based on the idea that music is 'something to be experienced in social relationship. Music in school could be freed from its historical roots and, on the case of Small, become experimental, explorative and a model of ways of relating through music' (Finney, 2011, p. 47). But it seems to me that freeing music from its historical roots rests on a universalistic apprehension of musical creation and understanding: '"going directly to the sounds and their characteristics" [Christian Wolff] is what composers have always done' (Paynter, 1972, p. 17) Thus, it fostered experimentation and novelty without

references to historical roots of making music, and at the same time wished to get to the *essence* of what music is about, finding a thread that connect the trajectories of different compositional practices: 'every significant musician throughout history has searched for new musical expressive possibilities" (Thomas, n.d., iii).

In this way a historically situated idea – the idea that experimental music might free sounds from their histories is in itself stripped of its historical situatedness, and is used as an over-arching educational principle. Strictly speaking, experimental composers would argue that it is 'possible to make a musical composition the continuity of which is free of individual taste and memory (psychology) and also of the literature and "traditions" of the art' (Cage, 1952/1993, p. 107). But experimental music educators would argue that experiment with sound materials is not only what is natural for the child to do, but also has been at the core of all composers' practice. Talking of Murray-Shafer's *Ear Cleaning* (1967) Robert Walker has argued that 'Ear Cleaning is testimony to a desire to disseminate knowledge and experience of the elements of the art of music of all ages and styles' (1983, p. 92). Thus experimental music educators sought to establish a link between the experimental attitude of the contemporary composer, a modernist approach to musical progress, and the belief in the power of children's inherent curiosity.

## 3. Piercing vs. opening: experiments and the experimental

As noted earlier, within the experimental music education attitude towards music and its making a confusion can be detected between the highly modernist fervour of the avant-garde to break away towards hitherto unexplored territories and the post-historicist attitude of experimentalism towards negation of progress and the liberation of art from intention (Goehr, 2008; Nyman, 1974/1999). It is argued that this rests on an ambiguous stance of creative

music education towards the relationship between art and intention. In turn, this can be traced back to a central tension between the notions of experiment and the experiment*al*: is experimental an element of openness and discovery, or is it a way of subjecting nature to torturous tests, which render nature 'as something into which they [scientists] could pierce their experimental knives' (Goehr, 2008, p. 115) with the aim of achieving total control? Is experimentalism exclusively related to art and its inherent openness? And is the concept of experiment to be left solely within the responsibility of science? The experimental composers and educators of the 1960s and 70s seemed to believe to a notion of the experimental that delineates an attitude of open-endedness, incompleteness, delving into the unknown and exploring unexpected possibilities. In this sense they would dissociate their work from the violence inherent in scientific experimentation. In the same way Cage, by removing intention from his music, believed that he had succeeded to detach his work from 'the controlling character of the experiment' (ibid., p. 119).

However, much postwar compositional activity developed in ways that resembled certain features of lab science: "objective" stance towards material, excessive calculations, trial and error procedures. Talking about Milton Babbitt's compositional approaches, Varèse says that Babbitt 'wants to exercise maximum control over certain materials, as if he were *above* them' (Schuller & Varèse, 1965, p. 36). Co-designer of one of the first music synthesizers Mark Olson has argued that 'New theories in the field of communication provide powerful tools for use by the composer in the composition of music. (Olson 1967, p. 409, in Maconie, 2011, p. 34). And of course Xenakis was an exemplary case in that respect, with his 1960s work being '[a]n almost literal translation of science into sonic art' (Borio, 2006, p. 365).

One could say that the avant-garde composers employed the attitude of the experimental in the sense of devising new ways to control the material, and thus they came closer to the

scientific conception of the experiment, whereas Cage and the experimentalists would invite us to problematise the boundaries between art and life, intention and control, listener and maker, work and its surroundings. Yet, the release 'from intention and attachment' (Goehr, 2008, p. 126) from models and preconceived patterns of development is not, Goehr argues, that far removed from Francis 'Bacon's argument for cleansing the mind of its prejudices or "idols," . . . idols that subverted the truthful observation of nature' (ibid.). Thus experimental and avant-garde music cannot that easily distance themselves from the connotations that usually accompany the notion of scientific experiment. At the same time as experimental educators were trying to open up their students' ears, discovering new ways of listening, they seemed to subscribe to the rather Adornian view that 'all genuinely New Art is experimental' (ibid., p. 130). In doing that, they downplayed the sensuous aspects of music-making, sometimes favouring a detached approach to ideas generation and material manipulation: 'Some experimental music teaching has taken on the same tone of a search for novelty – another sign of failure to emerge form an old aesthetic based on the sense/reason dichotomy' (Walker, 1984b, p. 81).

## 4. Resisting commodification

Intimate exploration of sounds for personal expression that resembled processes of sound exploration used by radical avant-garde of the postwar period seems to be the result of a commitment to a view of music education as a counterforce to the widespread commodification of music. It is argued that the experimental music education movement attempted to materialize an Adornian conception of radical music as a counter force to commodification. For Adorno, 'a truly oppositional aesthetics can exist only where art is autonomous' (Murphy, 2004, p. 29). Adorno held that in popular music of any kind form has

been fetishised, 'and saw freedom of form and its corresponding critique of pre-given form as a metaphor for an ideal, free society, and, simultaneously, as a critique of existing society' (Paddison, 1993, p. 183) In this perspective, only fringe music is able to escape the rules of commercialism. And the radical power of avant-garde music derives exactly from its ability to escape the power of commercialism.

Experimental music educators were committed to the liberatory potential of the creative attitude that may spring from children's involvement with experimental music-making. That this is a 'world apart' is eloquently expressed in Murray Schafer's words: 'Before ear training it should be recognized that we require ear cleaning' (1986, p. 46). Ear cleaning points immediately to a process of getting rid of habits, ways of relating to sound, but ultimately to a process of getting away from the burden of everyday culture. Its Adornian ramifications are indeed very clear. Thus, the attempt 'to relate music-making directly to the sound environment of today' (Self, 1976, p. vi), that is the credo of the creative music education of the 60s and the 70s, implies a very specific 'environment'. 'Children who have experimented in this way would certainly be better equipped to approach the work of contemporary artists' (Paynter and Aston, 1970, p. 6), whose music, experimental music educators felt it was unduly pushed to the margins. In this sense, music education was regarded as a potential site of resistance to the rules of the market.

## 5. Locality and neglect of the local

The idea that music education that is based on an experimental approach to music-making links music school practices with radical avant-garde and experimental music, leading to a liberatory pedagogy, constitutes a central tenet of the creative music in education movement. Emphasis on hands-on experience attributes grave importance upon the intimate work of the

teacher with the pupils. Creative music education believed in children's ability of take their musical education in their hands, to act creatively from the very start, and therefore constructed an admirably democratic form of music education. But this emphasis on the child's artistic originality and on close collaboration between children and teachers goes hand in hand with the neglect of the everyday musical experiences of children. And this despite assertions to the contrary, assertions such as the following, made by Ronald Thomas (n.d.) in one of the core textbooks of MMCP: 'The curriculum must deal with music as it relates to the student's culture' (p. xi). The process of 'ear cleaning' led to the silence of the local musical cultures that formed the everyday musical environments of children. When pop and rock music was addressed this was done in the context of presenting different ways of using the musical material, and was put into practice via a mode of action that derived from that of the contemporary composer who selects, rejects and manipulates musical material, aiming at originality and avoidance of imitative work, 'moving away from familiar poop, rock, reggae or whatever, . . . starting afresh with new stimuli in a 'neutral' region of sound that does not automatically create associations with the "classical/pop" dichotomy' (Paynter, 1982, p. 117).

What I am trying to say is that creative music in education movement did not reflect upon the situatedness of its own claims, and also upon what happens in the process of translation of those ideas into action within school contexts. Based on Bernstein and Davies (1969) and on Young (1971), Finney suggests that experimental music educators did not pay enough attention 'to the ways in which children come to school socially and culturally differentiated' (2011, p. 60). Progressive music educators fell short in realizing that school always functioned a tool for legitimizing certain forms of knowledge and that this knowledge rarely is that of the underprivileged children. Therefore, experimental music education might, despite its best intentions, have constituted an 'anonymous authority of creative music making' (Finney, 2011, p. 60), which led many pupils to reject what for all progressivists was

a pathway for musical and educational freedom. For our sense of freedom may not by identical to theirs: As John Finney recalls, '[a]t the end of what became an extended improvisation I asked Martin, a quiet boy, what style he thought our music to be. The reply was short, polite and not without deference, "school music style, sir"' (Finney, 2011, p. 62).

## 6. Learning as disclosing vs. learning as contextual

Creative music in education movement has offered groundbreaking pathways for action, based on a firm belief in children's originality and their thirst for exploration. Brian Dennis has stated that 'Experimentation with sound satisfies one of the most fundamental drives in a young person – namely curiosity and the desire to explore' (1970, p. 3). There is deep belief in children's inner musicality, and their intuitive sense for structural rightness. This view rests on a more general belief in the natural unfolding of children's development, in the natural persistence of curiosity, immersion and exploration, although no discussion was made concerning the issue of naturally unfolding stages of development.

The emphasis on children's inner expression and its unrestricted development has been the result of an overemphasis on the existence of direct relationship between children's natural inclination to experiment and contemporary music's experimental character. It is here that one can locate the source of the oft-criticized teacher's reluctance to intervene that has been identified in some cases where creative music education dream was put into action. As Malcolm Ross states, 'Witkin and I perhaps made the same error of emphasis . . . In stressing the "inner" experience of the child we insufficiently stressed the full import of the dialogue with the medium and, in particular, the importance of that dialogue of understanding the tradition which nurtures it' (Ross, 1998, pp. 209-210). Extending this to experimental music education, one could argue that insufficient emphasis was placed to the contextual nature of

learning, to the pedagogic dimensions of the dialogue between pupils, teachers and the multilevel histories of sounds.

## 7. Creativity 'on demand': openness and predictability

An important question remains: How did it become possible to create a link between children's creativity and the work of the avant-garde composer? A possible answer might lie in the rise of a new conception of creativity that replaced the then dominant link between divine inspiration, greatness and musical creation. This new conception of creativity was also the basis on which the use of indeterminate elements in certain contemporary pieces was grounded. In such works the composer/performer boundaries were blurred, allowing the performer to take compositional decisions during performance. Under that emergent rationale, indeterminacy was clearly distinguished from improvisation. This distinction was based on the perception of indeterminate scores as stimuli for the performer to get beyond habitual responses towards a creative approach which transcended the stylistic boundaries usually associated with jazz improvised solos (Reynolds, 1965; Foss, 1962; Kutschke, 1999).

In music education the traditional separation between performance and composition and the emphasis on reproduction was problematised by recourse to that contemporary musical situation where the spontaneous compositional creativity of the performer began to gain currency. The apprehension of creativity as an irrational and unpredictable gift, as a miraculous visit of the divine inspiration was the cornerstone of the ideology of the romantic genius: **'**A thought flashes us like lightning, with necessity, unfalteringly formed – I have never had any choice' (Nietzsche, 1979, pp. 102-3, in Kutschke, 1999, p.147). This gift was not bestowed upon any one and could not be available on demand. Therefore this conception of creativity could not justify the claim that (group) composing might become an integral part

of music education. The radical change came when a new conception of creativity (Weisberg, 1993) gained currency and gradually became the dominant concept that was to guide educational policy. Creativity 'became a mastered aspect of everybody's intelligence' (Kutschke, 1999, p.151). This ordinary view of creativity emerged from psychology at the time when the latter began to dominate educational thinking, becoming a source of legitimation of particular educational decisions. It was Guilford who proposed a conception of creativity as a mental ability (Guilford, 1968). 'The reason for Guilford to treat creativity as part of intelligence, generally considered to be grounded on rational, objective, and thus intersubjectively valid principles, was that, in order to instrumentalize creativity in the Cold War, he needed to restrict its features of irrationality and randomness' (Kutschke, 1999, p. 151).

This view of creativity as an everyday problem-solving process entered education via both a hands-on teaching of science and an experiential turn in the teaching of the arts. But the essential antinomy through which creativity has lived its life within the creative music in education movement, is that on the one hand it fosters an egalitarian view, allowing for openness and emphasizing that composing is something that every and any child should be involved, but, on the other, this became possible exactly because of a scientific view of creativity that aimed at instrumentalization of creative abilities, at prediction and control, so as creative behavior can be used more productively in school and beyond it, according to societal needs.

It is this approach to creativity that has, in recent years, being exploited by the currently dominant performative model of education, emphasizing the links between creative processes and (pre-defined) instrumental values – see for example the NACCCE report and its emphasis the requirement that 'the outcome [of creativity] must be of value in relation to the objective' (1999, p. 4). Under the currently dominant economistic rationale creativity

becomes an exercise in producing innovative survival tactics within a knowledge economy, in an era where 'the engine of growth will be the process through which an economy creates, applies and extracts value from knowledge.' (Leadbeater, 1998, p. 12). As Michael Peters observes, currently 'education is both input and output in a *socialized* knowledge capitalism increasingly dependent on creating the appropriate conditions for creativity' (2009, p. 55)

## Conclusion

The arguments expressed in this paper should not be regarded in any way as a light-hearted criticism or as an attempt to diminish the importance of experimental music education. Quite the contrary; I find that it is of utmost importance to look again at a music education movement that sought to bring the issue of creative freedom at the heart of its practice. This is especially relevant today, at a time when monitoring and measurement of performance exhausts the process of education itself to such an extent 'that assessment itself now preponderantly *drives* education' (Webb, 2002, in Abbs, 2003, p. 59), leading to preference for educational technology that successfully produces instant results, resulting in an increasing exclusion of experimental practices. Caring 'How to teach an "outstanding lesson", a "never fail lesson", and how to be an "outstanding teacher" are the lures of the moment' (Finney, 2011, p. 154). In this context '[t]he act of teaching and the subjectivity of the teacher are both profoundly changed within the new management panopticism (of quality and excellence) and the new forms of entrepreneurial control (through marketing and competition)' (Ball, 2003, p. 219). That is why we need to re-address the issue of how we can form modes of musical practice that resist this brain-deadening 'safety'. The unfinished project of experimental music in the classroom continues to be a continuous source of inspiration, not least for its admirable courage to create, sustain and fight for a particular educational dream.

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**Endnotes**

[1] http://www.bcmg.org.uk/gallery.php?id=314

# Social Questions, Musical Answers: Local Government Music Policy and Practice

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*Abstract*

Arts within local government polices and practices has been increasing worldwide. These local government arts agendas are primarily aimed at raising artistic standards, enhancing the quality of life within communities and supporting artists. Further objectives such as developing and promoting social capital are also very apparent within both local government arts remits and initiatives. This paper examines the integration of the arts into local government from a variety of perspectives. An investigation of where local government arts are situated in relation to capital theories and the tensions between arts and social aims are considered. Using Ireland and music development as the focus, specific local government music initiatives are examined. These case studies highlight the significance of local government involvement in music and its importance in enhancing social capital, providing access to music and music making, community participation, cultural diversity and its value in developing identity and a 'sense of place' within communities. Using such an investigation the challenges surrounding the role of local government in fostering and supporting vibrant music communities is explored.

## Introduction

The integration of the arts into local government agendas has been a growing phenomenon internationally. These policies and practices, while aimed at raising artistic standards, are also widely understood and often explicitly stated as a means of enhancing social capital amongst communities. This paper examines both the United Kingdom and Irish approaches to and models of local government involvement in the arts/arts education and more specifically in music/music education. Taking Ireland as the focus of the study, specific case studies of local government music initiatives are explored. The critical importance of local government contribution to music and its relevance to social cohesion, access, participation, intercultural promotion and its value in developing a sense of identity and place within communities is highlighted. The study draws together lessons from a diversity of experiences and practices to illuminate current development in music by local government in Ireland. The core issues address the integration of music within a wider arts policy; the status of the arts in local government; the structures surrounding local government arts services; the function of the arts service to local arts and specifically music development. This investigation aims to define the role local government has to play in fostering and supporting vibrant music communities and highlight the challenges and tensions associated with varying remits within arts in local government.

## The integration of arts in local government

The impact of World War II had a direct influence on the integration of the arts in local government agendas. Due to the misuse of the arts during fascist regimes, a new political discourse ensued surrounding arts and cultural policies culminating in the setting up of the

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1945. An example of the evolution of the arts into local government arts agendas as a tool for social agendas can be seen in the United Kingdom (UK).

Local government involvement in the arts within the UK has its roots in a reaction to WWII in the setting up of the Committee for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA) in 1940. The organization was aimed at boosting morale and encouraging social good during times of conflict. This in turn led to the establishment of the Arts Council of Great Britain in 1946 as an arms-length organization allowing for relative autonomy from central government in decision-making and funding. The subsequent setting up of Regional Arts Associations in 1966 and the breaking up of the Arts Council of Great Britain (now the Arts Council of England, the Arts Council of Wales and the Scottish Arts Council) all reveal a growing preoccupation with devolvement of responsibility for the arts at a more regional or local level. Today, local government, alongside the Arts Councils, is the most significant revenue investor of the arts in the UK.

The evolution of the arts into local government in Ireland came about much later than its neighbour. It has been suggested that Ireland was reacting to pressure internationally and particularly from Britain rather than responding out of a firm commitment to the arts (Quinn, 1998). The first *Arts Act* in Ireland was brought into legislation in 1951 and the Arts Council was established with a similar arms-length principle to the UK. Local government involvement in the arts ensued with the second *Arts Act* in 1973. Twelve years thereafter realized the setting up of the first arts office within a local government structure. Since then, the establishment of these local authority arts offices have occurred on a phased basis over a 23 year period. 2007 marked the full allocation of 34 local authority arts offices nationwide.

The influence of changing local government policy and reform also had an effect on local arts development. The publication of *Better Local Government - A Programme for*

*Change* in 1996 allowed for a more strategic approach to planning and development within local authority arts offices. This period of reform was concerned with the quality of life for citizens within communities and so the arts were now being recognised as a means to enhance the cultural environment of the local community through local arts. The publication particularly highlighted various social needs such as widening participation at local level and providing efficient resources to serve the customer (1996, pp.9-10). Subsequent legislation such as the *Local Government Act* (2001) continued to focus on such social remits within local authorities. This act called on local government to promote activities that enhance 'social inclusion or the social, economic, environmental, recreational, cultural, community or general development of the administrative area…' (Government of Ireland, 2001, p.62).

The integration of arts agendas in local government in the UK and Ireland has been incremental and reactive. Arts within local government in both Isles came about as a response to global and national trends coupled with changing legislative environments. Social agendas and remits are very evident within local government arts policies within the UK and Ireland. For example, the Arts Council of England's Plan *Great Art for Everyone 2008-2011* in investing 1.6 billion over the four years claims; 'Great art inspires us, brings us together and teaches us about ourselves and the world around us. In short, it makes life better' (2008, p.8). This plan encapsulates a growing commitment to enhancing access to the arts, arts participation as well as the importance of the arts as a tool for identity and confidence building.

**Local government and capital theories**

Terms such as 'human capital', 'social capital', 'cultural capital' and 'creative capital' are increasingly being used throughout national, regional and local government policies. Local

government, through the use of public funds are expected to show accountability, transparency and a type of 'return' for the use of public monies. This is not always easy to apply to the arts as it is for other tangible local government areas.

Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1979, 1990, 2002) extended the notion of capital as a purely economic form (money, property etc.) to non-monetary forms of capital, namely, social and cultural capital. Social capital theorists (Bourdieu, 1977, 1979, 1990, 2002; Coleman, 1988; Putman, 2000) describe social capital as the use of resources such as social connections or networks which result in a valued social outcome, for example, education or status. Cultural capital, according to Bourdieu are the internalizations occurring during a process of socialization, education or training which create advantages from educational processes.

The theories of social and cultural capital have come under much debate (Sullivan, 2001; Edwards, Franklin & Holland, 2003;Vryonides, 2007). Many researchers point to the limitations of the terms 'social' and 'cultural capital' as being too narrow in focus, non precise, as concentrating too heavily on the notion of 'family' (Sullivan, 2001; Edwards et al. 2003) and highly difficult to measure (Vryonides, 2007). Indeed, there is a danger with the use of these terms that the assessment or evaluation of 'capital' in any form can be reduced to monetary gains solely. Such an application within local government arts initiatives could serve to threaten artistic freedom and value.

This notion of 'capital' as a non-monetary form has been further extended to include the idea of 'creative capital'. Creative capital can be seen as the combination of societies' assets that enable that society to be innovative and creative. Richard Florida popularized the term 'creative class' which he defines as 'people who add economic value through creativity', including, 'a great many knowledge workers, symbolic analysts, and professional and technical workers' (2002, p.68). Florida developed a measurement tool, 'The Creativity Index' to assess a regions overall creative economy potential.

While the focus is on a non-monetary form of capital, the outcome of such an index tool is restricted in view to economic returns only. Florida's work specifically focuses on the rise of a 'creative economy'. The theory that creativity can be measured solely in economic terms appears to be a narrow view. Florida does not place a high value on social or cultural capital or indeed any output of creativity that is intangible. This goes against what some academics (Evans, 2001; Mercer, 2002) believe is a strong link between creativity and cultural and social capital.

A study commissioned by the Hong Kong government, *A study on Creativity Index* claims (2005, p.32): 'The overall increase in creativity of a country should benefit social, cultural and economic sectors as a whole….' Using the theories of Richard Florida, too often the arts are seen as an engine to fuel economic growth and tangible outcomes that 'fit' with local government measures. Creativity does not however, take place in a vacuum. It is situated in a social and cultural context and therefore to ignore both social and cultural capital as a driver of creativity would be foolhardy. The Hong Kong Government creativity index study (2005, p.34) states; '…creativity needs the institutional backup and support to thrive and prosper'.

**Agendas and the arts in local government**

Tensions often exist between balancing artistic aims with social or political remits. At local government level this can become especially difficult where Laycock (2008, p. 64) argues, 'The social agenda is uppermost in the formulation of artistic policy at local government level.' There is a danger within local government structures that the arts may suffer from 'policy attachment' (Gray, 2002), seen for their instrumental value as opposed to their inherent worth. Gray (2002, p.p.86) points out:

> …the only possibilities for the creative development of the arts as a policy sector depends upon their ability to successfully attach themselves to other policy concerns and sectors.

Policies citing multiple aims and remits are very obvious amongst Irish local authority arts plans which are required to be published by law. These plans predominantly include social agendas such as 'cohesion', 'inclusion', 'diversity', 'identity' and 'participation'. Alongside these are the aims of promoting artistic excellence, building new arts audiences and developing opportunities for artist professional development. This focus on the use of the arts as a social agenda tool can also be seen in the placement of the arts offices within local government structures. Half (51%) of these arts offices are placed within 'community and enterprise' directorates while the other half work under eleven other various directorates (Kenny, 2009, p.43). This placement highlights the perception of the use of the arts within both local community and economy building.

There are of course significant advantages to the arts satisfying social aims and remits. Ideas around participation and identity are particularly relevant when examining the role of local government in the formation of individual and communal identities through arts or music initiatives. Music participation as a means of forming both individual as well as community identity has been argued by many researchers (Bennett, 2000; De Nora, 2000; Pitts, 2005; Finnegan, 2007). The National Economic and Social Forum (NESF) in Ireland highlight the importance of arts participation in promoting 'social solidarity and social cohesion' amongst communities (2007, p.8). The report goes on to highlight arts specific benefits outside of other communal activities such as sport claiming; 'the arts allow private

feeling to be jointly expressed, something that people may desire but cannot achieve in any other way but through the arts' (NESF, 2007, p.11).

Small similarly draws attention to the link between music and social activity claiming (Small, 1998p.208):

> The big challenge to music educators today seems to me to be not how to produce more skilled professional musicians but how to provide that kind of social context for informal as well as formal musical interaction that leads to real development and to the musicalizing of the society as a whole.

With such a view, the place or context where 'musicalizing' may occur is of great significance for music education. Ruth Finnegan's (2007) ethnographic study of amateur music making in Milton Keynes, England, refers to 'musical worlds' within communities that are described as: (2007, p.32):

> …distinguishable not just by their differing musical styles but also by other social conventions: in the people who took part, their values, their shared understandings and practices, modes of production and distribution, and the social organisation of their collective musical activities.

In this way, music through local government initiatives can be perceived as means of exploring the link between identity and the social world where one exists.

**Examples from Research**

The report *Knowing the Score: Local Authorities and Music* (Kenny, 2009) sought to investigate the contribution and role of local government in music in Ireland. This was a two-

year partnership project between the Arts Council (Ireland), a third level institution as well as local government bodies. Mixed Method research methodologies were used including a literature review, shadowing/observation, questionnaire, drawing up music profiles for all arts offices as well as interviewing arts council personnel, local authority arts office staff and musicians. The significant findings of the research included: the fact that arts offices are now an integral part of local government; the wide and diverse range of music initiatives happening around the country due to these arts offices; there is no uniform model of arts officer practice; the arts offices have an influential role on communities, musicians, music; and that partnerships are hugely important to support the work of local government arts offices.

A further significant finding in this research was the evidence of core values such as access, participation, social inclusion, and supporting artistic excellence made apparent through local government initiatives. Four examples of such values inherent in such initiatives are chosen to illustrate how such aims and remits manifest themselves in local government music practices in Ireland.

*Access*

The Vogler Quartet Residency involved an international string quartet in developing a long-term approach to music education in County Sligo. Access to instrumental tuition and performance within local areas was a primary concern within this project. The residency involved both local and national cross-sectoral partnerships between the arts office, a national music resource organization, local schools, a local community centre, a local music promoter, a local ensemble and private music school.

The initiative was longitudinal in nature (1999-2004) and focused on the three areas of music education, instrumental tuition and performance. An important strand of this initiative

was the Vogler primary curriculum support programme whose main aim was to provide access to live music in classrooms throughout the wider communities within the county as well as build capacity in music development through the schools. A facilitator provided training and resources for teachers throughout the residency to ensure that Vogler Quartet work in schools was not just a 'once-off experience' but rather the teachers and children would build on the work between visits.

Through post-residency evaluation, the music education programme inspired professional development workshops for local musicians to continue the music education work in schools throughout the county and provide further access to live music within schools. This initiative is a fitting example of where artistic excellence in the form of a well established international quartet was upheld alongside other social aims, in this case a focus on access.

*Participation*

A large scale project carried out in Wexford, 'The Whisper of Ghosts', was an orchestral and choral composition which focused on high community participation. This was a collaborative composition between composer Elaine Agnew, writer Kate Newman, pupils of three rural primary schools and an active retirement group. Elaine and Kate worked collaboratively for six months in a series of improvisational workshops involving creative writing and music making with the pupils and teachers from these schools and in addition with members of the active retirement group. The poems written from the creative writing workshops served as the basis for Elaine's composition. The end piece was performed by the pupils and retirement group members alongside the Irish Chamber Orchestra. A live recording was made and a book published including the writings of the participants in the project.

The community participation element was evident in both the process and product of the initiative. A local advisory group were involved in the planning and realization phases of the project, all workshops encouraged full participation, the participants contributed directly to the musical piece through composing workshops, and were also involved in the performance. The arts officer commented that the initiative was 'not imposed on the community but for them, by them and with them' (interview, 2007). In interview the composer stated that such a participatory initiative was vital in the promotion of community involvement, confidence and creativity and in this way she felt she went beyond just imparting skills onto the participants (interview, 2007).

*Cultural Diversity*

It was reported that 72% of local government arts offices in Ireland rate world music in top five most frequent genres supported (Kenny, 2009, p. 47). This finding reflects local governments' concern with reflecting and supporting the cultural diversity in a growing multi-cultural society in the country. The Cork City arts office funded an ensemble of ten resident musicians in setting up 'The Clear Sky Ensemble'. The musicians as well as reflecting a wide range of nationalities also reflect a wide variety of musical backgrounds and genres. The ensemble perform to sell out gigs not only in Cork but throughout the country. As all of the musicians live in Cork there is a feeling of ownership surrounding the group within the local community. The community too are being exposed to cross cultural music reflecting their changing musical landscape in the city. The Congolese ensemble leader, Niwel Tsumbu commented in interview that the community view him now as their 'local boy' due to his involvement in the group (interview, 2007).

The 'Festival of World Cultures' carried out through the Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown office in County Dublin was set up in 2001 to reflect the changing cultural environment of the

local area. This festival runs annually and provides a broad range of concerts featuring many international artists and world musics. The success of the festival is reflected in its high profile in the media each year. While the festival enjoys elevated status amongst arts communities and within the local government itself on interview with the arts officer she felt the arts office was seen as the 'cute child' of local government business (interview, 2007). This reflects a feeling that despite gaining both national and local status through high quality arts office initiatives, arts offices still may have a long way to go into being considered a serious part of local government work.

*Identity & Place*

Traditional Irish music has a deep cultural and social heritage in County Clare and wide support and audiences for this genre exists within the county. This strong engagement with Traditional Irish music is capitalized on by the arts office through the employment of a part-time specialist regional arts co-ordinator for the traditional arts. This particular focus on Irish Traditional music manifests itself through the many music festivals, music series, residencies, youth projects, research and traditional DJ competitions all in the traditional music genre organised by the arts office.

County Kerry also shares a rich tradition of Irish music. Despite such strong roots however, one community in consultation with the Kerry arts office decided *not* to embark on an initiative in this musical genre. Since there was already widespread support of Irish traditional music in the local area, one particular large-scale initiative focussed on the development of youth garage bands and song-writing instead. The project involved students ranging in age from 12 to 17 years and professional musicians. These musicians facilitated song writing workshops in the local second level school and offered technical resources and mobile recording equipment to the school. These workshops culminated in a CD recording

and a performance for the larger community. Many of these bands continued to make music together long after the initiative had ceased.

These two arts offices demonstrate two differing approaches to developing and enhancing a sense of place and identity within communities. One arts office harnessed the strengths of a local area in its programming while the other identified gaps in provision and tailored its programming to those needs. As well as highlighting a diversity of ways of approaching community identity, these examples also reflect the flexibility arts offices enjoy in varying their approaches to local areas.

**Challenges**

Some tensions emerged during the research process and analysis. A disconnect between the dual priorities within local government arts work of serving both the public and the artist was often apparent. Conflicts often arose between what was seen as having artistic value and what was considered artistically valuable in the public domain. This will undoubtedly be a continued debate particularly within a structure that must show accountability for public spending. The arts within a local government structure while a very positive step in arts development in Ireland is not always seen as an inherent part of local government work. One arts officer commented that she felt like the 'good news department', of worth only when a local authority needed a profile boost in local media. This corresponds to what Laycock describes as the 'poor relation status' of the arts at local government level (2008, p.65).

There is no doubt that the integration of the arts within local government in Ireland over a 24 year period has had a significant impact on the growing arts landscape nationwide. A striking example of this is reflected in the broad and diverse range of music initiatives that local government arts offices engage in through such activities as festivals, residencies,

bursaries, choirs, orchestras, concerts and commissions. However, the challenges of global and national pressures, fluctuating economic conditions, competing political agendas, multiple purpose initiatives and a need to show a return for public money all have direct implications on arts and music policy and in turn on implementation at local government level. It is imperative that local governments continue to strive to marry artistic and social agendas in meaningful ways, to ensure that future decisions and directions for music and arts development are sufficiently supported by best practice. Continued research into local government music initiatives is one such means to make certain that such practice is backed up by a strong researched knowledge base.

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# Relationships among Parental Influences, Selected Demographic Factors, Adolescent Self-Concept as a Future Music Educator and the Decision to Major in Music Education

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*Abstract*

The purpose of this study was to investigate (1) relationships among parental influences, academic achievement, and adolescent self-concept as a future music educator, (2) whether parental influences, academic achievement, and demographic factors contribute to undergraduate students' self-concept as a future music educator, and (3) significant differences that exist in undergraduate students' self-concept as a future music educator due to select demographic factors and perceived parental influences. Subjects (N = 148) were undergraduate music education majors students enrolled in three public university schools of music located in the Eastern and Western United States. Participant's class ranks ranged from freshman to senior; individuals were registered as full time, instrumental and/or choral music education majors. Each subject completed the Parental Influence on Self-Concept as a Music Educator Survey (PISCAMES) and data were examined. Parental influences are related to self-concept as a music educator and increases in self-concept as a future music educator are influenced by differences in parental influence. Specifically, parental influence on decision to major in music education variables *parents' feelings regarding successful completion of education* and *musical ability necessary to be a successful music educator* have significant ($p < .001$) impact on self-concept as a future music educator.

Each year high school seniors across the United States act on an interest, dream, or desire to enter college and pursue a degree in music. Having begun formal music education during their elementary or secondary school career, these individuals experience fulfillment, enjoyment, personal musical success, and a genuine love for music through participation in a wide variety of musical experiences. As a result, by senior year in high school these individuals make the decision to apply to a university music program to pursue a baccalaureate degree in music.

Various institutions employ entrance mechanisms intended to identify individuals who demonstrate potential for success in music. There is a need to attract undergraduates who have promise in cultivating morals, values and character, and who will eventually become future leaders in the field of music education. Chase and Keene suggest that students who declare their major early in their college careers have higher levels of academic achievement, earn higher grade-point averages, take more college credit hours, and often excel beyond what their talent indicators predict.[1] Recruiting students who know who they are, believe in themselves, know what they want, and are motivated to achieve the personal traits, skills, and competencies related to becoming a musician and music educator would more likely yield undergraduate music majors who will be successful in achieving program requirements necessary for certification and entrance into the profession as a musician and music educator.

Recent research demonstrates that home influence and conditions of the family are persuasive or influential in pre-service teachers' decisions to choose teaching as a career. Bergee has studied influences on collegiate students' decisions to become a music educator.[2] The researcher sought to identify persons, experiences, events, organizations, and other factors that influence collegiate music educators' decisions to teach music. Concerns regarding pending teacher shortages, teacher recruitment and retention are issues that warranted such research.

While Bergee indicated that individuals' parents and siblings are important influences on the decision to become a music educator, research has not been pursued regarding the definite role of parents in this decision. In addition, there has not been research on the extent to which parental involvement contributes to adolescent identity as a future music educator and the decision to major in music education.

The purpose of this study was to determine relationships among parental influences, demographic factors, academic achievement, and adolescent self-concept as a future music educator. The specific research questions of the study addressed (1) relationships among parental influences, academic achievement, and adolescent self-concept as a future music educator, (2) whether parental influences, academic achievement, and demographic factors contribute to undergraduate students' self-concept as a future music educator, and (3) significant differences that exist in undergraduate students' self-concept as a future music educator due to select demographic factors (i.e., age, gender, ethnicity, undergraduate class level, major concentration, parents' education, parents' socio-economic status) and perceived parental influences.

Participants were undergraduate music education majors (N = 148) students enrolled in three public university schools of music located in the Eastern and Western United States. The students' class rank ranged from freshman to senior. Undergraduate class distributions were as follows: Freshman/First Year ($n$ = 44), Sophomore/Second Year ($n$ = 37), Junior/Third Year ($n$ = 47), Senior/Fourth Year ($n$ = 12), and Senior/Fifth Year to Fifth Year Plus ($n$ = 8). The sample included the approximate number of individuals registered as fulltime, Instrumental Music Education ($n$ = 100), Vocal Music ($n$ = 36), and Instrumental and Vocal Music Education ($n$ = 12) majors.

The Parental Influence on Self-Concept as a Music Educator Survey (PISCAMES) was constructed to gather demographic information on subjects and data on three variables—

parental involvement, parental influence on adolescent decision to major in music education, and adolescent self-concept as a future music educator. A self-report rating scale (i.e., Likert scale) format was used for the PISCAMES to relate a number of items to University Parental Involvement Measure (UPIM), University Parental Influence on Decision (UPID), and Self-Concept As a Music Educator (SCAME). Undergraduate students, 18 years of age and older, were asked to recall their adolescence when responding to questions regarding parental involvement and parental influence on decision to major in music education. Reliability of the instrument was calculated to check internal consistency. Cronbach's alpha coefficients were acceptable to high; the UPIM was .934, the UPID was .727, and the SCAME was .958. Descriptive statistics for all variables were consistent among the three universities

To address the first research question, Pearson Product Moment Correlations were computed to examine relationships among all variables of parental involvement, parental influence on adolescent decision to major in music education, academic achievement, and subjects' self-concept as a future music educator. To address the second research question, stepwise multiple regression analyses were computed to test whether parental influences, academic achievement, and demographic factors predict adolescent self-concept as a future music educator. To address the third research question, descriptive statistics and nine ANOVAs were computed to examine the main effects and their interactions of each variable and self-concept as a music educator.

In addressing research question one, Pearson Product Moment Correlations computations showed a moderately weak positive correlation ($r(145) = .344$, $p < .001$) between parental influences and self-concept as a music educator composite score. A weak positive correlation ($r(146) = .242$, $p < .01$) was found between the UPIM subtest and SCAME composite score. Moderate positive correlations ($r(145) = .457$, $p < .001$) were found between the subtest UPID and Composite SCAME score. Pearson Product-Moment

Correlation procedures found that demographic and academic achievement variables were not significantly related to self-concept as a music educator. Only the composite of Parent Influences was found to have a moderately weak correlation (.355) that was significant ($p <$ .001). Relationships between demographic, academic, and Parental Influence Composite variables were weak. The strongest correlations were found among socioeconomic status of parents, gender, and parental influences. The association of socioeconomic status was weak negative; gender was not significant.

Regarding research question two, stepwise multiple regression analyses demonstrated that parental influences *successfully complete education* and *musical ability to be a good music teacher* contributed statistically to the prediction of Self-Concept as Music Educator and were added to the equation. With both predictors, the Adjusted R Square demonstrated that approximately 30% of the variation in adolescent self-concept as music educator can be explained by differences in parental influences regarding adolescent *ability to succeed in education* and have the *musical ability required to be a successful music educator*. All other variables did not contribute statistically and were excluded from the regression analysis.

To answer the third research question, descriptive statistics and nine ANOVAs were computed to examine the main effects and their interactions of each variable and self-concept as a music educator. One-Way ANOVA's showed that statistical differences did not exist in undergraduate students' self-concept as a music educator due to demographic factors. An ANOVA was computed for significant differences in self-concept as a music educator due to the factor of Parental Influences and proved that undergraduate students' self-concept as a future music educator differed significantly ($p < .05$) due to parental influences. Further analyses found a significant main effect ($p < .05$) for UPIM, UPID, and the interaction between parental involvement and parental influence on decision. A factorial analysis of variance calculation demonstrated that significant differences do exist in undergraduate

students' self-concept as a future music educator due to parental involvement, parental influences on decision to major in music education, and the interaction of parental involvement and parental influence on decision.

The main conclusion from these analyses is that changes in self-concept as a future music educator are due to parental influence. Parents' personal interest, attention, and support for their son's/daughter's participation and appreciation of music have important value in the development of adolescent musical self-concept. Parental involvement in their son's/daughter's music making and musical activities throughout adolescence has importance in relation to decisions regarding a college major. Personal interactions through conversation about music, progress in music, and participation in musical activities are related to application to college or university music programs, university auditions, and decisions to major in music education.

The cultivation of parental involvement, personal interest, and support in the development of musical ability and achievement in education throughout adolescence and especially during high school has importance as high school juniors and seniors consider pursuing music education at the university level and as a career. Though relationships were not established between selected demographic factors and self-concept as a future music educator, academic achievement variables are clear indicators of successful completion of education and should be considered important in relation to parental influences on adolescent self-concept as a future music educator. Demographic factors (e.g., gender, socioeconomic status, and formal education of parents) would also appear to have an effect on an adolescent's successful completion of education. Parental influences throughout the decision-making process have principal value in the adolescent's perception of one's self as a future music educator.

Another obvious conclusion to be drawn is that parental influences on decision to

major in music education contribute to the development of self-concept as a future music educator. While relationships were established among parental influence variables and self-concept as future music educator, parents' confidence in their son's/daughter's aptitude to successfully complete his/her education and musical ability necessary to be successful as a music educator make contributions to the development of self-concept as a future music educator. Other contributors that have less influence include parents' confidence in their son's/daughter's personal qualities, decision-making capacity regarding college major, and ability to work with young people. The diversity of these components has important relevance to the personal traits, academic aptitude, musical competencies, and intrapersonal proficiencies associated with being a competent music teacher. The confidence of parents in their son's/daughter's capacity in these areas has relevance to the development of adolescent self-concept as a future music educator. In particular, parents' feelings about their son's/daughter's musical ability and capacity to complete education contributes to the development of the adolescent's concept of himself/herself as having the capacity to become a future music educator.

Parents who are supportive of their son's/daughter's self-concept in music and identity as a future music educator have influence on their son's/daughter's decision to major in music education and self-concept as a future music educator. While parents who are confident in their son's/daughter's personal qualities, capacity to work with young people, and ability to fulfill the responsibilities to be a competent music teacher are important in cultivating adolescent self-concept as future music educator, parents who believe in and support their son's/daughter's musical abilities and capacity to successfully complete their education have considerable value in the development of an undergraduate music education major's self-concept as a future music educator.

Relationships between demographic, academic, and Parental Influence Composite

variables were weak. Demographic and Academic variables had extremely weak and/or non-significant correlations with SCAME. The strongest correlations were found among socioeconomic status of parents, gender, and parental influences. The association of socioeconomic status was weak negative; gender was not significant. Relationships between demographic and academic factors and adolescent self-concept as a future music educator were negligible.

Self-concept as future music educator may be due to any particular demographic factor (i.e., parental socioeconomic status, parental formal education, ethnicity). These changes in perception on one's self may be affected by other variables. However, the perceptions undergraduate students have of themselves as future music educators are due to the ways in which parents interact with their son/daughter and influence their son's/daughter's decision to major in music education throughout adolescence.

Parents have tremendous influence on their child, from birth and throughout life. Parental encouragement, activities, and interest at home, and parental participation at school influences the child throughout elementary and secondary education. While parental influence on the development of adolescent knowledge and understanding of "self" continues throughout youth, much can be gained by realizing which components of parental involvement and parental influence on decision to major in music education impact the development of self-concept as a future music educator. While becoming a musician might depend upon close contact with musical role models in order develop the necessary knowledge, skills, and behaviors required to succeed, the parents' position in cultivating the adolescents' identity as future music educator plays a major role in the student's decision to major in music education. Parental influence on adolescent perceptions of one's self in music, identity as a future music educator, and decision to major in music education has considerable importance to teachers of pre-service music educators.

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# A Qualitative Study on Involving Youth and Extra-Curricular Music Activities

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*Abstract*

This longitudinal study spans six years, investigating the reasons, benefits, and impact on why twelve urban public school students decided to give up their free time to participate and volunteer in extra-curricular music activities. Literature and research inform us that the arts can be an important part of the curriculum, and has helped reveal several topics in this study including: the connection of the music curriculum to real life; the place of music education in the curriculum; music education in our society; music and the brain; volunteerism in our society; after-school programs; and arts education. I have selected case study as the qualitative methodology for the base of this research with the use of ethnographic tools of recorded and transcribed interviews, field notes, and questionnaires to help answer some of the aforementioned queries. Twelve youth participants ranging in gender, ethnicity, and socio-economic backgrounds were queried on their lived experiences and involvement with music, and on the way these experiences have affected them as students and as productive members of society. The data analyzed showed connections between my own arts experiences in the public school system, to those of the twelve students interviewed. Community; belonging; identity; friendship; emotional intelligence; vehicles to express feelings; self-esteem; creativity; and skill development were themes that emerged from this research. Implications such as the teacher-student relationship; equity; family influence; and technology need further exploration in strengthening programs for youth that involve volunteerism and music education. Lastly, inquiry into why some teachers and students choose not to volunteer or participate in extra-curricular activities and how this impacts educational communities, the future direction of music education, and the teaching/learning experience, warrant further research.

## Context

The B.C. School had a population of about 500 students enrolled in grade 7 and 8, located in an urban multicultural city, with a diverse mix of families, both cultural and socio-economical. Every student in the school played a musical instrument; half of the school population played a stringed instrument, and the other half played a band instrument. String classes within the school day were considered to be general music classes, using instruments to deliver the Ontario Music Curriculum. Music theory, technique, method books, and simple two-three part music were used to deliver the curriculum. The majority of the students were beginners, and the school day ran from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. Extra-curricular activities were strictly voluntary on both the part of the students and teachers. These activities did not affect their school grades, and the students were still required to participate fully in the regular string classes during the school day.

The B.C. Orchestra was one of the extra-curricular activities available for students to participate. It was created to give students who attended the B. C. school, a chance to enrich their playing, and music making experience beyond the school day, and had a membership of about 60 – 70 students, who have chosen to participate in rehearsals and concerts before and after school on their own time.

The rehearsals started at 7:15 a.m., 1 hour and 45 minutes before the start of their school day. The students were required to come to three of these morning rehearsals, in addition to a night rehearsal that ran from 6 – 8 p.m., every week. The ensemble was open to any string player in the school; there was no audition process, but attendance and commitment were needed for them to remain in the ensemble.

## Methodology

Twelve students (8 Females, 4 Males) from different socio-economic, religion, culture from the B.C. Orchestra, were asked to be a part of this research. These twelve students were invited to participate in this research because of their previous membership in the B. C. Orchestra, and the fact that they have all returned back to the group as volunteers and mentors after they have graduated.

I followed these twelve students for six years. They started with me in the B.C. Orchestra in grades 7 and 8, and came back during their high school years to assist with the orchestra as volunteers and mentors. At the end of their sixth year, which was also their last year of High School (Grade 12), I gave them a questionnaire that had open ended questions on why they chose to participate and volunteer in extra-curricular activities in music. These questionnaires were collected, and a follow up interview asking them if they had anything else to add to the research about their experiences was done via face-to-face interaction. In order to guard the identity of these students, I gave them each an Italian music term for mood according to their personality, for example:

> Maestoso: meaning 'majestic' (Kennedy & Kennedy, 2007, p. 462, Randel, 2003, p. 482, & Sadie, 2001, vol. 15, p. 576) in Italian, represents the commanding presence of this student through the leadership skills that she developed as a musician.

> Agitato: the musical Italian term representing agitation and restless (Kennedy & Kennedy, 2007, p. 9, Randel, 2003, p. 28, Sadie, 2001, vol. 1, p. 215), represents this student because of his energy and inability to stay in one spot, except for when he is playing his musical instrument.

The remaining Italian terms that were used are: Affectuoso, Comodo, Cantabile, Vivace, Brilliante, Grazioso, Dolce, Animato, Misterioso, and Scherzando.

## Main Research Findings

Nine themes emerged from this study, which I have tried to find current research from scholars such as Rauscher, Higgins, Koopman, Sacks, Jensen, Ward-Steinman, to further understand through their lenses.

### *Community*

Rauscher (2002) informs us that 'communities are essential to our survival, and music gives us the one beautifying language that crosses the bridges that divide us' (p. 11). Scherzando, a male Korean-Canadian violist participant in this research, tells us that 'music is often one of the tools that gather people to build a community. It can be a tool to strengthen community. Music has many roles in a community and in the processes of building a community'.

### *Belonging*

Higgins' (2007) research talks about how 'playing in a band advocates a sense of belonging to those who participate. It is this welcoming, this sense of community, that has fertilized a network of friendships that have their seeds embedded within the band's identity (p. 290). Misterioso, a Tamil female violinist, says that

> … the best thing about being in an extra-curricular music program was the sense of belonging and friendship. It (musical community) is the feeling of acceptance and belonging amongst others. I felt like I belonged there (music ensemble) and I was so proud and happy with myself whenever I was there. You definitely feel a sense of belonging at your school – if you were never good at sports, you usually feel left out. However, you never had to try out for music. Whether you were good or bad, you could always come to orchestra rehearsals and feel as if you're part of a team.

*Identity*

Jones & Perkins (2006) reminds us that 'as youth enter their middle-adolescent (ages 14-17) years, they become identity seekers' (p. 92), and that 'community music helps people develop their artistic abilities and identity' (Koopman, 2007, p. 153). Scherzando, a participant in this research said:

> I wish to become a teacher; therefore, the leadership skills and the inspiration I've obtained from these teachers would be something that I'd like to carry onto my employment. I know that without the experiences that I've had in music, I wouldn't have the same opinions, beliefs, and lifestyle as I do now. My music teacher inspired me to take music not just as an extra-curricular activity, however, as a way to learn more about myself through music.

*Friendship*

Levitin (2008), a researcher in the field of music and the brain, talks about the 'effects that music has on friendship' (p. 7), while Higgins (2007), inform us that 'community music was initially seen as a way to make new friends. As well as the creation of new friends, the community music nurtured deeper relationships between old acquaintances (p. 288). Cantabile, a violist in this study revealed the development of friendship through similar interests – 'I also enjoyed it (orchestra) because I made new friends who were interested in the same this as me (music)'.

*Emotional Intelligence*

In his recent book, *Musicophilia*, Sacks (2007) tells us that 'music, uniquely among the arts, is both completely abstract and profoundly emotional. It has no power to represent anything particular or external, but it has a unique power to express inner states or feelings' (p. 300-301). Maestoso, also a violist in this research, reflects on her emotions during orchestra –

> The thing I remember most about the extra-curricular music programs I did was all the laughter, I constantly felt good in my fellow musician's presence. The thing that does stick out in my

> mind is our string orchestra performances in middle school. I always remember beaming at the end when we'd all stand up and our conductor would look at us and smile and give us two thumbs up or mumble an inside joke. That feeling of such closeness within the ensemble and to what you're doing even though all these people are obliviously clapping. It was always my favourite feeling. Such a sense of joy and pride, friendship, and closeness, I always felt like the luckiest kid at school.

*A Vehicle to Express Feelings*

Jensen (2000) talks about how 'music lets us get in touch with our feelings, our intuition, and our hopes and fears. It activates our dreams and moves us through troubled waters' (p. 51). Scherzando, a male violist born to Korean immigrant parents in this study talks about how:

> Music was a great stress reliever; it was a great way to loosen up and relax from the daily tensions of schoolwork; it was a great way to let release all the stress and worries by expressing them though music. Music is food to my soul and has inspired me to take this food and make it taste better.

*Self-Esteem*

Ward-Steinman's (2006) research talks about how 'after-school outreach activities help at-risk children develop overall greater self-esteem' (p. 85). Self-esteem was also an important development for one of the participants in this research, as Affettuoso tells us that 'being involved in the orchestra gave me the self-esteem to continue my involvement in extra-curricular activities in high school by giving me the confidence to expand my wings into leadership roles because I learned my capabilities of handling multiple activities'.

*Creativity*

Koopman (2007) reminds us that '… community music provides opportunities for creativity and self-expression. Maestoso also refers to her creativity as she realizes that '… my social skills were the most influenced by my musical experience. I was very shy before I went into

music, but once I got involved in ensembles at school, I blossomed and became a leader, outgoing, friendly, and enthusiastic. I finally really like myself'

*Skill Development*

In recent documents of the Ontario Curriculum for the Arts, it says that the arts 'help students develop their ability to listen and observe, and enables them to become more self-aware and self-confident' (*Ontario Curriculum for the Arts, 9-10,* 1999, p. 4). In the most recent publication, it says that the 'development of skills of expressive participation, as well as acquisition of knowledge and skills are related to specific arts (*Ontario Curriculum for the Arts, 1-8*, 2009, p. 5). Cantabile says that:

> … music allows me to be more patient in learning new things in my daily life. I allow myself more time to understand new tasks and it allowed me to organize my time more effectively so I can become better rounded. The music program offered me discipline, patience, relaxation, and most of all fun, all in one. Music helps me concentrate better. I thoroughly enjoyed all the time I spent in the music program and wanted to spend an extra year to enlighten my skills.

**Implications**

*Equity/Social Justice*

White and Gager (2007) inform us that 'community-based intervention programs can offer a bridge between those who are less fortunate and the resources they may need to overcome their disadvantaged situations' (p. 86).

*Family Influence*

Research suggests that 'parents play an important role in initiating as well as sustaining their children's interest in playing an instrument' (Davidson et al., 1996, Conway, 2000, and

Moore, Burland, and Davidson, 2003 in Abeles, 2004, p. 250). The encouragement and support from the parents can take many forms. The children who continue with their musical studies in life came from 'families that provided a stimulating music environment' (Ibid).

*Technology/Youth Today*

Will our youth need programs such as extra-curricular activities in music to help them get physical interaction and facial expression? Tapscott (2009), the author of *Grown up Digital* refers to our generation of youth as the 'NetGeners', and believes that our kids are more social than ever before, as they continue to stay connected through texting, twittering, facebooking, etc., but what about the social interaction through face-to-face and playing in the orchestra? Even the recent YouTube symphony culminated in getting all the participants together physically.

Technology and immediate gratification are terms that can be important to our adolescents in today's fast-paced world. Video games, computers, microwaves, cell phones, may be factors that have trained our students to expect immediate and quick results. However, with this efficiency, we often compromise quantity with quality. Opportunities such as extra-curricular activities in music ensembles, can allow students to work towards a goal, but at the mean time, enjoy working with others, and learning social skills. Being a part of a musical ensemble can teach more than patience, it can foster quality and dedication. In the music ensemble in which participants of this study were a part, they rehearsed two to three pieces, two to three times a week, for about three months, in order to perform it once or twice at the holiday and/or festival concert. Csikszentmihalyi coins this term as the 'flow' experience, such that 'flow' is not 'the quick high that comes from exciting experiences. Rather, it is that contented, deeply gratified feeling that comes from being in the groove, from being deeply focused on a complex task that has taken time and energy to master' (Nakkula & Toshalis, 2006, p. 61).

And lastly, why do some teachers and students choose not to volunteer or participate in extra-curricular activities in school, and how does it affect their teaching or learning, are some of the topics and queries others could continue with this study.

## Conclusion

In a study done by Lesley Ann Bayran (2008) from the George Washington University talks about the 'vulnerability of children committing crime or being a victim of crime between the hours 2:30 p.m. – 8:30 p.m.' and that 'activities that are adult supervised and oriented towards the development of cognitive and social skills have been shown to reduce an adolescent's likelihood of engaging in delinquent activities' (p.1).

> Education in the arts is essential to students' intellectual, social, physical, and emotional growth and well-being. Experiences in the arts – in dance, drama, music, and visual arts – play a valuable role in helping students to achieve their potential as learners and to participate fully in their community and in society as a whole. The arts provide a natural vehicle through which students can explore and express themselves and through which they can discover and interpret the world around them. Participation in the arts contributes in important ways to students' lives and learning – it involves intense engagement, development of motivation and confidence, and the use of creative and dynamic ways of thinking and knowing. It is well documented that the intellectual and emotional development of children is enhanced through study of the arts. Through the study of dance, drama, music, and visual arts, students develop the ability to think creatively and critically. The arts nourish and stimulate the imagination, and provide students with an expanded range of tools, techniques, and skills to help them gain insights into the world around them and to represent their understandings in various ways. (*The Ontario Curriculum, 1-8*, 2009, p. 3)

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# Transformation and Liberation in 21st Century Music Education (?)

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*Abstract*
First published over forty years ago in 1968, Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* was considered seminal to movements of education as social action. In this paper I will explore Freire's concepts of transformation and liberation, as they might be applied to contemporary music education policy and practice. By comparison with a more extensive engagement in other areas of cultural production and education (notably, in theatre and in drama education) such issues have not generally been at the forefront of music and music education discourse. At the same time, recent years have witnessed significant movements that include: a) a growth in community-based music education and performance; b) grounded approaches to music pedagogy that draw on informal learning practices; c) among some governments and other national agencies, policies that strive to integrate artistic, educational and social missions – the most spectacular contemporary example perhaps being *El Sistema* in Venezuela. Drawing on Freire's theory, I will interpret some key aspects from these various movements that could contribute to further debate on role of critical pedagogy discourse in music education.

*Foreword*

This essay follows the structure of the original symposium presentation which was somewhat improvisatory in nature, but also draws from a later extended version of the paper. Additional references have been added following helpful suggestions made at the symposium by Karen Snell and Hildegard Froehlich.

**Background**

Born in Recife in 1921, Paulo Freire was, and remains, one of the twentieth century's most influential figures in respect of education, social theory and philosophy. From the time he began working with adult illiterates in Northeastern Brazil in 1947, Freire saw pedagogical and social justice concerns as being inextricably linked, leading him to develop a general methodological approach centred on the concept of *conscientização* [conscientization] or 'critical consciousness' (Freire, 1970).

Freire's most well known publication, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972) was a book that greatly impressed me as an idealistic undergraduate student. The idea to revisit this text arose from a recent conversation with colleagues in the philosophy of education; my decision was also influenced from finding myself back working in St Patrick's College, a college of Dublin City University where I had spent my undergraduate years and where I had first encountered Freire through the inspired lectures of Professor Joe Dunne. Looking back at this seminal text today, I am amazed at how fresh and relevant it remains. Also surprising is its enduring sense of optimism, in spite of the bleak contexts and experiences from which Freire's thinking arose. To historicize very briefly, it is set against a background of oppression, revolution and evolving democracy in the various regions of Latin America in the 1950s and 1960s.

What I set out to do in this paper is to identify some of the principles and challenges, as I see them, in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, considering their potential merits for discourse and action in music education scholarship and practice. My choice of this theme for the symposium might be questioned by some on the grounds that Freire was not a sociologist per se, but then again we cannot either consider Karl Marx to have been a sociologist (and I choose the comparison with Marx for the obvious reason that the former was greatly influenced by the latter). What both developed, albeit in different ways and in different places and times, were critical, social theories that were based on philosophical ideas, historical analyses, and observations and interpretations of material realities. Clearly, Marxist (or neo-Marxist) approaches continue to inform various facets of sociological inquiry, for example, the concepts of cultural production, mediation and consumption that are by now well established in music sociology, and that especially come to be applied in the sphere of popular music studies. It is significant though that neo-Marxist ideas, or approaches based on such ideas have not featured to the same extent in music education theory and practice over the past few decades. Exceptions include those who advocated a move towards a more democratic conception of musical creativity in the 1970s, and those writers inspired by new thinking in the sociology of knowledge during the late 1970s and 1980s (see Vulliamy and Shepherd 1984).

Now it should be said that Freire's ideas have been adapted by a significant number of writers in music education, as I shall later briefly outline.[1] Noteworthy, however is that this attention to Freire has largely come from those generally considered to be writing in the area of music education philosophy. I realize that I'm employing a distinction here with which I'm not exactly comfortable, since it can be argued that all music education sociology begins with or develops some type of philosophical rationale (whether implicit or explicit), and by the same token, that music education philosophy evolves with the benefit of sociological insight.

But still, I would retain the observation that the ideas of Freire do not feature significantly in what we collectively refer to as the sociology of music education. Overall, I would argue that, as a sub-discipline, there is much we can do to engage with radical debate on social justice, with a follow-up in social action – and Bernadette Colley's observation earlier in the symposium regarding the noticeable lack of action research in music education by comparison with other areas of education studies appears to back up this latter point.

What I attempt to do for the remainder of this presentation is overly ambitious, and I apologize in advance for not doing sufficient justice to Freire's text and indeed to the music education literature and projects with which I engage. To put the aims of the paper more formally, it seeks:

- To highlight some of the concepts, principles and challenges developed in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and to illustrate their potential relevance to music education
- To examine aspects of recent music education theory, policy and practice in the light of some of these concepts, principles and challenges
- To look back at *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in the light of recent developments in music education

**Concepts, Principles**

I begin with Freire's dialectical materialist epistemology (Au, 2007). This could be represented as a theory of knowledge that is grounded in social history and reality, and that considers *pedagogy* as a set of relational social institutions and processes which, on the one hand, can combine to reproduce and maintain repressive hierarchies and distinctions[2], and on the other hand, can be employed as liberating agents in both individual and societal transformation and development.[3] As touched on in the introduction, Freire's theory owes

much to Marx's view of consciousness, human interaction, and material transformation (ibid.). Additionally, the former's belief that human nature and society are ultimately dialogic accord with the ideas of other influential scholars of the late twentieth century, notably, Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin and Jürgen Habermas. Freire's idea of dialogic action is linked to the concept of *conscientização* (see Freire, 1974). Central to this theorization is the need for education that allows for and encourages critical learning, where students are aware of the interactions - and potential for future interaction - between themselves and the society that they inhabit. Freire contrasts this to the oppressive 'banking concept' of education that conceives of teacher/student and subject/object in dichotomous terms (1972, pp. 57-62).

A key dialectical relationship explored in Freire's text is that of the oppressor/oppressed. Rather than reducing this relationship to a crude dualism of those with power and those ostensibly lacking power, he interprets a historical pattern wherein oppressors as well as oppressed are locked into an alienating and repressive system (one way of looking at this might be to imagine a school within a state education system where staff as well as students are routinely disaffected). In Freire's pedagogy, individuals and groups can act and interact to transform practice and critical thought from the ground up. For example, teachers who unwittingly or otherwise perpetuate the banking concept of education might be liberated through dialogue with students who through other educational and/or social experience are enabled and liberated to challenge received ideologies. Or conversely, teachers might challenge students' adherence to educational systems that are based on a crude meritocracy or that covertly privilege certain socio-economic classes – a situation famously explored in the film drama *Dead Poets Society* (Weir, 1989). This potential fluidity of roles does not of itself remove a tendency towards oppressive models of education in many, if not most societies around the globe; however, what Freire strongly argues for is a conceptualization of educational transformation that recognizes the agency of individuals and

collectives, as opposed to top-down models of educational development and reform. In short, Freire considers society and education to be inextricably linked through mechanisms and ideas of pedagogy, whether though the perpetuation of received pedagogies *in* education and society that act to reproduce the status quo, or through critical and transformative pedagogies *of* education and society.

The latter point brings us to two terms that are central to this discussion, namely, transformation and liberation. Freire's development of these concepts goes beyond any superficial understanding along the lines, respectively, of 'change' and 'democratic freedom', as much as he might have championed these as necessary actions in material contexts of socio-economic deprivation and political repression in Latin America. He argues that without critical consciousness and reflexivity, these actions by themselves do little to progress humankind, since they fail to interrogate the historical and ideological forces that frame and maintain repressive systems in the first place. Thus, we are presented with an Orwellian scenario of new oppressors constantly rising from the ranks of the oppressed. This may all seem very removed from the sphere of music but consider, for example, how shifts in the power held by special interest groups can bring about changes in statutory recognition and funding for different musical genres and practices ('new' bourgeois tastes replacing 'old' bourgeois tastes – say, from classical music to world music) but all still contained within a shifting hegemony that is premised on some groups within a society holding disproportionate power in comparison with others. According to Freire, the transformation of education and of society requires reflection and dialogue, as much as it requires specific action. Furthermore, he argues that critical pedagogy can enable students and teachers to take steps towards their own liberation through 'praxis', that is to say, through the combination of dialogic thought and action.

## Music, Music Education and Freire

I begin this section by referring to Freire's influence on theatre and on drama education, perhaps best known through Augusto Boal's (1979) *Theatre of the Oppressed* (see also Boal, 1998). Although I come to examine some music education systems and projects in the light of Freire later on in this paper, it is noteworthy that to date, music/music education has produced no equivalent holistic movement in which *conscientização* is employed as a central concept. From a formalist perspective, it could be argued that this situation largely arises from aesthetic differences between music and drama, and I will return to practical aspects of this momentarily. But the idea of music as autonomous, as abstracted from the material reality of social life, is one that can be challenged on a number of counts, from Adorno's (1976) theory of immanent critique in relation to art music[4] to more overtly political associations made between contemporary folk/popular genres and social protest movements (Peddie, 2006). This suggests that there would likely be different types of critique involved, whether intended and/or interpreted, were we to compare the strings quartets of Arnold Schoenberg with Bob Dylan's songs. And this brings us to some important distinctions between and/or within music style categories, namely, the use or non-use of lyrics/words, and related to this, the modes of communication that are pertinent to each musical practice and/or genre.

A literal reading of Freire's humanist philosophy might suggest an almost exclusive focus on propositional language, making his ideas more obviously adaptable to drama than to music:

> Dialogue is the encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world. (1972, p.76)
>
> If it is in speaking their word that men, by naming the world, transform it, dialogue imposes itself as the way by which men achieve significance as men. (Ibid., p. 77)

However, it is worth remembering the original context of Freire's own praxis, where his primary focus was to develop a critical pedagogy with and for adult illiterates in the Brazil of that time. Furthermore, his idea of dialogue as being simultaneously 'existential necessity' and 'act of creation' arguably extends the theory to all aspects of human endeavour and communication (ibid.). Thus, 'naming' and 'speaking' can be interpreted as representing all mediating acts. In his method for forum theatre, Boal (1998) outlines two interrelated meanings of the verb 'to act', first as performance, and second as (social) action. As music educators, we would of course have no difficulty with the centrality of performance, and increasingly, many in our field are also engaged with social action. The real challenge, as I see it, is in facilitating a meaningful dialogue, on the part of all practitioners, between these two forms of acting or doing. Do we aim to develop a type of 'process'[5] method analogous to established practices in drama education, or are there ways that are more appropriate to specific music discourses?

The last fifteen years or so has witnessed a renewed interest in democracy and social justice issues amongst music education scholars, and in particular amongst those based in North America (Woodford, 2005; Gould et al., 2009). The idea of praxis, as developed in the respective theories of Freire and Maxine Greene has perhaps gained the most currency (especially following Elliott, 1995), although what exactly philosophers and music educators understand by that term is by no means consistent (see Allsup, 2003a). 'Transformation' has also emerged as another highly influential concept in contemporary music education discourse, and has been variously applied to considerations of individual experience, socio-cultural renewal and the interaction between these (for example, Jorgensen, 1997, 2003; Swanwick, 1999; Allsup, 2003b). More 'applied' approaches incorporating Freire's ideas have included Randall Allsup's (2003c) ethnographic research focusing on instrumental music education, and recent articles published byAbrahams (2005), Schmidt (2005) and Snell

(2009).

## Music Education Systems and Projects

In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire distinguishes between educational *systems* (negatively linked to the 'banking concept') and educational projects (critical interventions in embedded systems). I now briefly and retrospectively consider a range of music education movements with reference to these concepts, proposing four interpretive categories below. As might be inferred, the business of distinguishing between systems and projects is by no means a straightforward task. My categorizations here are based on and limited by my (incomplete) knowledge of various music education movements and institutions in Europe, the Western Hemisphere and Anglophone jurisdictions, and accordingly, this whistle-stop survey is not intended as a comprehensive account.

### Systems 1: 'Traditional' approaches to music education in institutional settings

In this category I refer to systems that are normally based in schools, conservatoires and colleges and which in large part focus on the canons and aesthetic sensibilities of Western art music (though with some accommodation of folk music also). Here, we might include the 'music appreciation' movements of the early twentieth century, the establishment of general music education later in the same century, instrumental music education, choral methods, music literacy and so on. To take one highly influential movement, how might we assess the contribution of Zoltán Kodály from a critical pedagogy perspective? In the first instance, his composition and publication of educational and choral materials might be seen as an interventionist *project*, as an interruption to what he viewed as repressive educational and

cultural influences of the time. An obvious flaw from a Freirian standpoint would be the lack of dialogue in Kodály's overall conception and approach, notwithstanding his genuine concern for universal access to music education; moreover, Kodály's legacy can largely be interpreted in systemic terms, insofar as it is employed on the basis of what works pedagogically and musically, and because it does not, in its original conception, accommodate a dialogic pedagogy between teachers and learners. Nor does it employ the concept of critical consciousness. To illustrate, let use contemplate the area of music literacy, which is acknowledged as a fundamental principle and method in the Kodály approach. Under a Freirian critique, it could be argued that this introduces students to particular musical and cultural 'words' without any concomitant reflection in respective socio-cultural 'worlds'.[6] [7] Should we then regard the various articulations of Kodály-based programmes to be inevitably oppressive? As someone who has been musically and personally enriched by immersion in postgraduate studies in Hungary, and by subsequent involvement in Kodály-inspired initiatives as teacher, learner, performer and facilitator, I would have to say a definite no. At the same time, I believe that future initiatives in this field would benefit from a fair 'dollop' of critical consciousness.

**Systems 2: Alternative approaches to music education in institutional settings**

This category is conceived to include formal and informal music education in mainstream school settings. The first sub-category refers to the expansion of curriculum content from the 1960s onwards with the inclusion of popular music, composing, traditional musics and multicultural/intercultural music education. Since these took place in institutional settings, it might be more instructive to consider their inclusion as curriculum developments or innovations, rather than as interventions. One exception here was the experimental music

education movement of the 1960s and 70s that Panagiotis Kanellopoulos critically revisited earlier in the symposium. In that analysis, the introduction of avant-garde and democratic principles represented a radical move, but ultimately its 'moment' would wane in the wake of systemic opposition, and a lack of dialogue between its modernist ideologues and the school students they wished to liberate.

The place of popular music in education merits some attention here also. Graham Vulliamy and John Shepherd's (1984) critique of early attempts to incorporate popular music highlighted a 'hidden curriculum' in which popular and other non-classical musical genres were subjugated to Western art music aesthetic and pedagogical norms. That situation has changed much over ensuing decades with a gradual recognition of the educational, musical and social value of informal music learning in school, particularly in the UK and in Scandinavia. Indeed it could be said that something truly dialogic is now happening in many institutional settings, inasmuch as students and their teachers are engaged in an interactive pedagogy (more of which below when I discuss the *Musical Futures* project). At the same time, and as with the appraisal of the Kodály approach above, we need to maintain a critical focus on this very successful and arguably welcome innovation in music curriculum development. While Lucy Green, a leading researcher in this area, has consistently stressed the need to regard informal music learning as complementary to, rather than replacing other approaches (2008), a recent article by Eva Georgii-Hemming and Maria Westvall (2010) suggests that music curricula confined to student choice (which in their study comprised contemporary popular music) are representative of a new orthodoxy emerging among some quarters in Swedish music education. This could be interpreted as a situation where students 'speak' without necessarily 'naming' or engaging with a wider musical and social world, thereby limiting the potential for transformative educational experience.

**Projects 1: 'Ground up' projects and initiatives**

In this category I consider music education projects that arise from (pre-) organized 'sound groups' (Blacking, 1995, p. 232) or 'communities of practice' (Wenger, 1998), as distinct from institutional practices or projects that are conceived as interventions in established educational systems. The establishment of *Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann* [Society of the Musicians of Ireland] in 1951 in Ireland presents one such case. Throughout the past six decades this voluntary music organization has supported education in traditional music through its extensive national network of branches (a rich description of how this emerged in one locality was outlined in Geraldine Cotter's paper earlier in the symposium). At one level the collective music sessions or gatherings of *Comhaltas* can be seen to promote informal methods of music teaching and learning, although at another level the organization embraces more formal ideas of music education through its merit structures (co-functioning as festivals or *fleadhanna*) and since 1998, by a graded examination system. We might then say that *Comhaltas* presents a contradictory case in that it retains some of the qualities of a community-focused project while simultaneously maintaining cultural and artistic norms through systemization. And while the greater *Comhaltas* organization does not exactly engender a space for critical consciousness, dialogue and reflexivity, as a socio-cultural movement, it can take considerable credit for the emergence of what has by now become one of the most accessible, 'ground up' vernacular music movements in the world.

While some projects begin with a primary aim of establishing or renewing a specific musical culture, others are more explicitly focused on human interaction and socio-cultural exchange. Community music, as a consciously defined area of practice, emerged towards the end of the twentieth century and, as its title suggests, was conceived more in the way of a movement (of various projects) than a unitary system. Given its overarching mission of

sustaining and renewing communities through music making and its attention to process, respect and interaction (Jorgensen, 1995; Higgins, 2008), the goals of community music can be seen to accord with many humanist principles. Adopting a Freirian perspective then, does this suggest that a critical pedagogy of music would work best in 'de-schooled' contexts, to adapt the radical term proposed by Ivan Illich (1976)? I believe not, and for two principal reasons. First, community music as a collective of stand-alone *projects* can by itself exert little or no influence on embedded school systems and pedagogies; against this, community music *in dialogue* with music education systems offers great scope for generating new initiatives and for raising awareness of student and teacher consciousness and reflexivity (as illustrated, for example in Heloisa Feichas and Robert Wells's paper on the *Connect* programme during this symposium). Second, while community music's employment of varied musics and methodological approaches can be regarded as one of its strengths, this also means that quite often it lacks the type of sustained and developmental engagement that can lead to personal fulfillment in a specific music style. As I allude to below, provision of widespread access to such artistic discipline is the type of intervention most associated with popular notions of 'transformative music education'.

**Interventionist projects (and/or systems)**

The most spectacular interventionist project to date has been *El Sistema*, which by now has received considerable international attention (not least because of the substantial number of Venezualan children and youth gaining access to instrumental and choral music education and for the critical acclaim achieved by its 'flagship' Simón Bolívar Orchestra).[8] With its origin and base in a Latin American socialist state, we find some clear resonance with the ideals of Freire. Conductor Jonathan Andrew Govias (2011, p. 21) summarizes the principles of *El*

*Sistema* thus:

> 1 Social Change: The primary objective is social transformation through the pursuit of musical excellence. One happens through the other, and neither is prioritized at the expense of the other.
> 2 Ensembles: the focus of el Sistema is the orchestra or choral experience
> 3 Frequency: el Sistema ensembles meet multiple times every week over extended periods.
> 4 Accessibility: el Sistema programs are free, and are not selective in admission
> 5 Connectivity: Every núcleo is linked at the urban, regional and national levels, forming a cohesive network of services and opportunities for students across the county.

Although the Spanish word *sistema* translates as 'system', from a Freirian perspective the movement could be considered more in the way of a project (the scheduling of lessons outside of mandatory school hours signifies choice and agency on the part of students). This certainly appears to be case with regard to the first stated principle above which implies an interventionist role, and also by the inclusion of the terms 'accessibility' and 'connectivity'. I think it's fair to say that anyone who has witnessed the processes and outcomes of this project (or system) cannot fail to be impressed, and in these respects it does realize its core aim of social transformation. But as with the example of *Comhaltas* documented above, it could be argued that *El Sistema*'s socio-cultural mission is largely framed by the structures and conventions of a particular 'art world' (Becker, 1982), in this instance, Western art music. On the plus side, this lends an authenticity and validity to the musical experience that might be lacking in 'mainstream' music education contexts, and provided that sufficient infrastructures are in place, there is a good chance that all student participants will have lifelong opportunities to retain membership in particular sound groups, and/or to venture into new musical spheres. Against this, it is not clear how such 'transformation' arising from artistic engagement and educational experience will necessarily *transfer* to a wider individual and social consciousness, nor how it can impact on socio-economic inequalities in the grander scheme of matters. This, in my view, gives cause to exercise some caution in making assumptions about the power of any one music education project to 'change lives', as has

been claimed with respect to numerous imitations of *El Sistema* (and I say this with the utmost admiration for the original).

Another national movement that rightly merits consideration in this discussion is *Musical Futures*, a project that in large part arose from two phases of research carried out by Lucy Green (2002, 2008) in England. *Musical Futures* is to be commended for what might be described as its risk-taking bravery in tackling head-on the problems of engaging young teenagers, in particular those described as 'disaffected', with school music. Rather than reviewing the main components and achievements of the project, I now briefly comment on some research outcomes, as reported by Green (2008) suggesting some points of *liberation* for students and their teachers. First, it provides evidence of students having freedom to take an initial lead in musical choice, and for their teachers to 'let go', listen and observe. Second, students are liberated – and challenged – by the absence of received pedagogy and by the opportunity to enter into dialogue and co-design their own learning; related to this, teachers, freed from an unquestioned pedagogical hierarchy, are also allowed to learn from students. Perhaps the most transformative aspect, from an existential point of view, is that the participants of *Musical Futures*, initially alienated from unfamiliar genres, are gradually enabled to 'know', 'name' and develop their engagement with wider musical worlds.

*Concluding comments*

Some of the main challenges facing the development of a critical pedagogy for music arise from the diversity of institutional practices, the complexity of relationships between systems, projects and communities, and the aesthetic and artistic dimensions of music itself. Clearly, there is much happening out there that is good, if not excellent, and on many fronts at that. The most pertinent questions in contemplating a critical pedagogy (or pedagogies) for this global-yet-diverse field, as I see it, emerge from Freire's concept of the dialogic: how do

various systems and projects in music education interact and complement one another for the betterment of individuals, communities and the wider society?; and, how do we articulate, interpret and develop meaningful reflective relationships between, on the one hand, musical and artistic experience, and, on the other hand, individual and social consciousness?

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**Endnotes**

[1]Engagement with critical pedagogy (including, among other perspectives, a consideration of Freire's work) has recently featured in several edited collections, notably, F. Abrahams (ed.) (2005) 'Special Edition: Critical

[2] This suggest some parallels with Basil Bernstein's idea of 'the pedagogic device' as explored in the paper presented by Hildegard Froehlich and Ruth Wright during this symposium.

[3] Throughout this essay my use of the term 'pedagogy' is specific to Freire's work (as distinct from conventional uses that delimit the term to incorporate theories and methods of teaching).

[4] See also Regelski (2005).

[5] On this see Jorgensen (1995, pp. 76-8).

[6] The idea of musical worlds is comprehensively explored by Minnette Mans (2009).

[7] See O'Flynn (2005, pp. 194-6) on Kodály and language-music analogies.

[8] Scholarly attention to *El Sistema* includes a doctoral thesis by Hollinger in 2006, and a series of symposia organized in Canada in 2011.

# Lost in transformation: Mezirow, immigrants, and identity

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*Abstract*
The jolt of immigration can be used to positively transform one's self-identity, as a dual frame of reference can become an invaluable "cultural capital." Using Mezirow's transformative learning theory as a basic framework, this paper discusses the delicate balancing act of transforming while avoiding the feeling of rootlessness, and presents information collected from interviews with Chinese-Canadian university music students, in which they reflected on issues of ethnicity, marginality, identity, heritage, career choice, and cultural expression.

## Lost in transformation: Mezirow, immigrants, and identity[1]

When one moves to a different country, one tends to experience a sense of disorientation, geographically, socially, culturally, academically, etc. One may experience a cultural clash, being unable to understand some of the hidden patterns of the adopted country. This disorientation can be overwhelming to some people, who might end up lost in a vortex of psychological confusion and emotional turmoil.

This paper will look at issues of identity, heritage and cultural expression in the lives of some Chinese immigrants who have decided to pursue a university degree in music in their new country. The origin of my interest in this topic is obviously very personal; after all, I came to Canada in my early 20s to pursue a Master's degree in music education, after doing my undergraduate degree in my native country, and, in the past eight years, I have been undergoing a continuous self-analyzing process to try to better understand my own personal conflicts and feelings.

I will base part of my discussion on an earlier paper I wrote, in which I used Mezirow's transformational learning theory as a lens to understand how some people are *better* able to overcome their disorientation and use their new environment as a catalyst for personal growth. In order to further explore this issue, I had already reviewed in the past some of the literature related to immigrants' adaptation (including some fascinating autobiographical accounts), but also I decided to conduct my own interviews with 9 Chinese immigrants who are currently pursuing an undergraduate degree at the Faculty of Music of the University of Western Ontario. Their experiences are somewhat different from my own; in all of their cases, their parents were the ones who decided to emigrate, so they did not go abroad alone with the specific intent of studying music. Also, while 3 of them came to Canada in their early childhood, the other 6 came in their teenage years, and it is expected that their adaptation was differently influenced by this.

However, in spite of these differences, I did find some personal resonance with their comments, and the information gleaned from the interviews can certainly be useful for music educators to better understand the role of music in the process of identity construction and transformation in an immigrant's life. But before dealing with some of what they told me, let me first present a little bit of the theoretical background from that earlier paper I mentioned.

Mezirow (2003) defined transformative learning as a way of "learning that transforms problematic frames of reference – sets of fixed assumptions and expectations (habits of mind, meaning perspectives, mindsets) – to make them more inclusive, discriminating, open, reflective, and emotionally able to change" (p.59). The inherent simplicity of its basic principles can be misconstrued as a sign of superficiality or unoriginality; after all, the idea that we have unconscious assumptions that guide our behaviors (and sometimes limit our potentials) is not particularly new. For instance, Wang and King (2006) drew a convincing analogy between Mezirow's notion of reflectivity and Confucius' thought, since both emphasize the notion that true growth requires a critical questioning of one's meaning perspectives[2]. Of course, Mezirow applied his theory to the specific field of adult education, but, as I became familiar with his writings, I was particularly struck by the idea that immigrants (especially teenage and adult ones) need to experience a very similar process as they adapt to their new environment. Whether they are able to feel happy, comfortable and fulfilled in it largely depends on whether they are able to undergo a successful transformation, questioning their psycho-cultural assumptions without depriving themselves of the sense of security and stability provided by their previous self-identity.

Mezirow (2006) differentiates two possible kinds of transformation: epochal and cumulative (p.28). While each of us naturally undergoes a gradual transformation of our beliefs throughout our lives, there are some momentous events that offer the possibility for an epochal, sudden, abrupt change. Mezirow (1991) describes the experience of an adult returning to school as one of these abrupt changes, a 'disorienting dilemma' that can release one from ingrained patterns and allow one to learn more about oneself. The jolt of immigration can also function as a 'disorienting dilemma,' which can be used to positively transform one's self-identity (to use Bourdieu's words, a dual frame of reference can indeed become an invaluable "cultural capital"). However, it is a difficult balancing act to be able to

question one's cultural assumptions without undermining the foundations of one's psyche. Consequently, many immigrants resist the necessary transformations, and choose instead – often unconsciously – to hold on to their old perspectives and to resist *any* transformation. Others, especially teenagers looking for peer approval, may take the opposite way and try to reject their original identity in order to "fit in". Needless to say, these approaches can create a lot of psychological turmoil and social inadequacies.

A transformational process involves a rearrangement of one's identity. The resulting intercultural identity is much more inclusive than the original, identifying not only with its original group, but with others as well. As Chappell *et al.* (2003) affirmed, it is useful to conceptualize a *relational* view of the self, in which the indeterminate self only takes shape as it relates to other people; therefore, the self is a by-product of social contact, and one 'person' can have multiple selves, according to each of his/her relationships. This can be exemplified by the story of Yali Zou, an educator who, after many years living in the United States (and after struggling through some difficult periods), realized that, although she would always be regarded as a Chinese in her adopted country, she was considered as an American whenever she would visit China. This unsettling situation might have been difficult to accept, but she did not feel that it was in any way a drawback; rather, she embraced her newfound identity, which was more fluid, richer, and less able to be neatly categorized. She indeed came to believe that "the possession of several identities for an immigrant is not just a way to adapt and survive but becomes an asset (Zou, 2002, p.265)." In a similar vein, another author wrote that "one can never thoroughly learn about a first culture until exposed to a second culture" (He, 1998). That is, until one sees one's own culture from the outside, one does not get a *complete* picture of it. On the other hand, someone who has not experienced it from the inside will evidently have an incomplete view as well.

Australian educator Kathryn Marsh (2007) provided a helpful perspective on how

classroom activities can help the transformative process by allowing bicultural students to rediscover the traditions of their ancestors and reconnect to the past; in the process of doing this, they become empowered as culture bearers, and acquire a larger understanding that "removes the boundaries between 'insider' and 'outsider' knowledge and power" (p.55). They feel less marginalized, and no longer simply assimilated into the mainstream. Before, they would unconsciously try to "reduc[e] the 'difference' between themselves and their peers" (p.52), but now they understand that embracing their difference was in fact a tool in *helping* them integrate into society's large mosaic.

I do agree with Marsh that the exploration of one's roots might create an "enhancement of feelings of self-worth in individual students" (Marsh, 2007, p.47), and a better intercultural communication among school communities. This exploration might take place by creating an opportunity for the students to *actively* reconnect with their parents' heritage, as Marsh did; nonetheless, an important first step might be simply allowing them to narrate their perceptions growing up in a 'foreign' culture, interacting with people who might not give sufficient importance to their roles as cultural bearers. The act of autobiographical narration is intrinsically connected to the construction of identity (McCarthy, 2007), and may open a window through which we may revisit parts of ourselves that have been neglected during the process of assimilation or adaptation. As Benedict (2007) wrote, "who we are also has to do with how we choose to tell our stories and, in that telling, how we choose to live our lives" (p.29).

In the interviews I conducted, I hoped to provide the students an opportunity for doing exactly this: to simply tell their stories, to narrate their experiences and innermost feelings regarding these issues. As some of them acknowledged to me later, they had never had a similar opportunity before, and the interview helped them think deeply in a helpful way. Of course, the small number of participants and the complexity of the issue do not allow me to

draw any definite conclusions or to take their individual experiences as truly representative; however, my goal was simply to see if I could find some interpretations or helpful insights that might be *tentatively* generalized to a larger population. Also, each interview lasted between 1 and 2 hours, and today I will only be able to focus on only a couple of interesting points that I noticed that deal with the participants' musical heritage.

Some of the students were rather unaware about their cultural heritage, and a couple of them were even uninterested in learning more about it. Most of them, however, especially *after* the interview, expressed a desire to reconnect with their traditions. This seems to corroborate what Kiang wrote (2007): "as adolescents emerge into adulthood, pursue higher education, vote, enter the workforce, and start their own families, they have more of an opportunity and motivation to truly explore what their ethnicity means to them" (p.109). However, although they said they would like to explore their cultural heritage better, they complained that they did not have enough opportunities for doing that (which is actually not entirely true).

All of them expressed feeling, at some point in their lives, some kind of marginalization in their adopted country. In those who had immigrated as teenagers, this was often related to their linguistic difficulties, or to the difficulty of integrating with peers who did not have an Asian background. Because of this tendency to remained somewhat cocooned within the Chinese community (that is, most meaningful friendships would be with other Chinese immigrants), a few of them did not seem to have undergone the critical re-evaluation of one's perspectives that Mezirow describes as essential to the transformative process.

Although Canada is very diverse and tolerant with minorities, Mary[3] expressed her feeling that Canadian society is "at once supportive and indifferent." She said that "most of her Canadian friends would become uncomfortable talking about her ethnic background." So she said she would "just stop bringing it up." Mary expressed contradictory feelings at times.

For instance, she is strongly attached to Western culture, and said she is very happy to be "no longer in China". While she said at one point in the interview that she did not feel very interested in connecting more with her heritage, she said at another point that she sometimes felt "ashamed for not knowing more Chinese history or Chinese traditional music." She did seem to feel not quite content in general, somewhat isolated from both the Chinese community and from her Western peers, and her feelings suggested to me that she hasn't been able to fully integrate into her identity the ambiguous emotions created by the disorienting dilemma of her immigration.

On the other extreme, I found that those people who reported the *greatest* amount of integration and personal satisfaction in their host society were those individuals who had the flexibility to re-evaluate their perceptions and to learn from their new environment (thus using the jolt of immigration as a positive transformative force), *without* however disregarding the elements from their native culture. In fact, I found the opposite to be the case: those who adapted better were *also* those who kept (or even increased) their connections with Chinese culture. Tracey, for instance, whose mom was a music teacher, described how they would often sing Chinese songs, and how music helped her to keep a stronger sense of self and overcome the feelings of alienation she had when she first arrived in Canada. This not only allowed her transition to be less painful, but it also became part of the reason for her wish to pursue a music education degree later. She also expressed a desire to learn to play a Chinese traditional instrument in the near future.

The parents of another interviewee, John, also made sure that he was involved with Chinese music, poetry and calligraphy after their immigration, and he even decided to learn the *Erhu* once in Canada. He had a strong sense of identity, but he also was the one who seemed most comfortable in his host country, having a wide array of Canadian friends from diverse backgrounds, and consciously avoiding being seen what he described as the

"stereotypical Chinese". This combination of a strong attachment to his native traditions with a conscious re-evaluation of some gave him the possibility to truly transform himself into a well-integrated bicultural person, and music played an important role in this. John was also fortunate to have a music teacher in his high school who actively encouraged her students to be proud of their cultural capital, and to frequently display their music to the rest of the class. This is certainly not always the case; another interviewee, Laura, for instance, commented precisely on how she did not feel that heritage was much valued in the school context. John described his teacher's methods as going much deeper than the common 'multiculturalism' that is often presented as a token gesture in many classrooms.

A similar pattern seemed present in all my interviews: a lack of attachment with one's native culture tends to create a sense of rootlessness that may prevent an immigrant from achieving the positive transformation described by Mezirow's theory and, maybe a bit paradoxically, from fully integrating into the host culture. From my observations, it seems that a strong cultural identity is indeed a prerequisite for one to profit from becoming a member of a different culture. The most effective adaptation strategy seems to fully embrace a dual identity that achieves a balance between the new and the old.

As one undergoes the transformative process caused by immigration, it is thus essential that one remain culturally anchored in one's heritage. There are two dangerous extremes: to try to avoid transformation, or to attempt to fit in the new environment at all costs, without a sufficient regard for ones background. Music teachers can play a tremendously important role in this, by empowering their immigrant students to be cultural bearers who have a lot to share with their classmates. By doing this, not only the entire class can experience a vivid multicultural display, but the immigrants themselves are encouraged to cherish their backgrounds, something that can give them a stronger sense of self that can help their successful transformation.

In his original field of adult education, Mezirow tends to assign the responsibility for the transformational learning mostly to the person's *own* ability to confront his/her assumptions. This might be debatable, especially when used in a different context such as immigration. Society (and academia, in the context of foreign students) has an important role in providing opportunities *both* for transformation and for a continued maintenance of one's ties with one's original culture. Besides, transformation should ideally be a two-way road, in which the immigrant (or the foreign student) is transformed but also contributes to societal/academic transformation as well. An educator, on the other side of the coin, should not only challenge his/her students' assumptions, but also allow his/her own to be examined.

I fully agree with Zou (2002) when she affirms that "the immigration experience is a never-ending venture that continuously redefines one's life and self-concept" (p.265). In order to succeed in this 'never-ending venture', Mezirow's framework can be an important tool for immigrants to understand their transformational process. We learn new ideas throughout our lives, but few experiences can incite as much learning as the experience of moving to a different country. In order to benefit the most from this learning, one must be flexible enough to change one's previous frames of reference; as British scholar Peter Jarvis says, "clearly this is one of the emotional paradoxes of learning: that in order to be emancipated we must be willing to break away from many of the attitudes, values, and beliefs that both support and constrain our thinking" (cited in Marmon, 2007, p.10). If one can accomplish this, *but* simultaneously learn to keep one's culture as a positive foundation of self-worth and identity, one can certainly arrive at the more inclusive and discriminating perspective that Mezirow considers the result of a transformative learning experience.

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## Endnotes

[1] NB: this is the verbatim transcript of my presentation at the 6th International Symposium on the Sociology of Music Education. The paper in which this presentation is based provides a more thorough and elaborate discussion of these issues; however, I chose not to include it here, since it is my hope that it will soon be published in a journal.

[2] "A meaning perspective refers to the structure of cultural assumptions within which new experience is assimilated to – and transformed by – one's past experience" (Mezirow, 1978, p. 101).

[3] Please note that all the names of the students have been changed to protect their confidentiality.

# Oh Say, You Can't Sing: The 'Star-Spangled Banner' and the National Anthem Project in Wartime America

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*Abstract*

I examine the place of 'The Star-Spangled Banner' in U.S. musical culture, with special attention to the National Anthem Project, launched in 2005 by the National Association for Music Education (MENC) to 'restore America's voice.' Claiming that 'nearly 2 in 3 Americans don't know all the words to the 'Star Spangled Banner,'' MENC officials began a multifaceted mission to ensure familiarity with and performance of the anthem. Further, they argued that school music education was key to the problem and to the solution, engaging music educators in an explicitly patriotic enterprise just as the country was becoming divided about the Iraq war. 'The Star-Spangled Banner' has had a controversial history. Numerous attempts have been made to legislate aspects of its use, from replacing it, to mandating its language or key. The song is criticized for its arcane language, its focus on the war and the flag (rather than on the country or its citizens), and especially for its musical difficulty. I investigate the underlying assertions of the National Anthem Project: that Americans don't know the anthem, that this lack of knowledge is a recent phenomenon, and that it can be traced to music education in the public schools.

The U.S national anthem, 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' appears regularly in the nation's news sources and weblogs. Reporters document, and editorialists, bloggers and their audiences discuss, such phenomena as crowds booing or failing to stand for the anthem, athletes 'disrespecting' the anthem,[1] and musicians or members of the public taking excessive liberty in their renditions,[2] failing to remember it,[3] translating it to another language,[4] or replacing it altogether.[5] They further debate whether the anthem's ideal key is G, A flat, or B flat,[6] and whether some more worthy song –- 'America,' 'America the Beautiful,' 'God Bless America,[7] 'God Bless The U.S.A., or 'This Land Is Your Land' -- ought to take its place.

From time to time, the various controversies result in attempts at legislation. During the heated debate in 2006 about the Spanish-language anthem version entitled 'Nuestro Himno,' conservative commentators rushed to connect what they saw as a usurpation of the anthem with a usurpation of culture and economy more generally.

Not coincidentally, as Abril (2007) points out, this occurred during a national debate about immigration policy; commentator Michelle Malkin (2006) called 'Nuestro Himno' the 'Illegal Alien Anthem' and Neal Boortz said '(t)hey have already published magazine articles in Mexico saying, Los Angeles is ours. Now our national anthem is theirs, also?' (Zarrella, 2006). Government representatives hastened to mollify their 'English only' constituents with attempts at controlling performances of the anthem. HR 793 was introduced on May 2, 2006, 'affirming that statements of national unity, including the National Anthem, should be recited or sung in English.' More recently, Paul C. Broun of Georgia has introduced HR 6783 in 2008 and HR 1621 in 2009, which, in addition to the above affirmation, proposes withholding of federal funds from 'schools that permit or require the recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance or the national anthem in a language other than English,' because, in part:

> (t)he Government may, from time to time, take steps to reinforce national unity, including using its funding to promote national unity. The Government may also take steps to limit the use of its resources for purposes that may be seen as undercutting national unity or misrepresenting its support for those rituals that it believes are essential to promoting national unity

Mocking what he called the 'unbelievably stupid' controversy, *The Daily Show* host Jon Stewart suggested that the second verse 'would sound better in Spanish' and proposed that the anthem's 'crappy' additional verses be given to immigrants who are 'willing to sing the verses Americans don't want…'.[8]

While passionately argued, most of these contributions to the national discussion about the anthem are fleeting, and most exist at the level of assertion rather than action. In 2005, however, a formal effort to address the state of 'The Star-Spangled Banner' emerged. MENC: The National Association for Music Education, began a multi-year campaign to 're-teach Americans the anthem'.[9] The National Anthem Project, launched in March of 2005, followed the summer 2004 release by MENC of its CD-ROM *Liberty For All: A Musical Journey* a compilation introduced by Army General Tommy Franks (Ret.), and including '15 stirring musical selections that build pride while enhancing the knowledge of America's special place in history' (MENC, 2004c).

First Lady Laura Bush served as Honorary Chairperson for The National Anthem Project, and Jeep as the 'national presenting sponsor;' NAMM (formerly the National Association of Music Merchants[10]) was its 'national music industry sponsor' and the Oak Ridge Boys were the 'official musical ambassadors' of the project. The dizzying list of associated sponsors and supporters included ASCAP, Gibson, FedEx, The American Legion, the Girl Scouts, The National Endowment for the Arts, The United States House of Representatives, The United States Department of Defense, the U.S. Conference of Mayors, The History Channel, the Association of School Business Officials International, the Christian Educators, the National Association of School Psychologists, the Association of Federal

Credit Unions, the Association of Appliance Manufacturers, and the Plumbing, Air Conditioning and Mechanical Contractors Association (MENC, 2005). The National Anthem Project included road shows concerts, promotional events, the invention of National Anthem Day on September 14, and a grand finale, among other activities.[11] In this paper, I explore this ambitious campaign, trying to understand its genesis, its life in the public realm, and its meaning.

The recent controversies about the anthem referenced above are part of a surprisingly long history of national ambivalence about the anthem. The very establishment on March 3, 1931 of 'The Star-Spangled Banner' as the U.S. national anthem was itself preceded –and followed – by significant controversy. Indeed, people were improving 'The Star-Spangled Banner' (usually by compressing its vocal range at the top end, sometimes also at the bottom end) and suggesting replacements for it before it was even approved. In 1861, seventy years before the 1931 congressional resolution, Richard Grant White lamented:

> 'The Star-Spangled Banner' had begun growing in favor in the loyal states from the beginning of the secession movement, and was played continually by all military and orchestral bands, and sung often at concerts and private gatherings. But as a patriotic song, for the people at large, it was found to be almost useless. The range of the air, an octave and a half, places it out of the compass of ordinary voices; and no change that has been made in it has succeeded in obviating this paramount objection, without depriving the music of that characteristic spirit...The words, too, are altogether unfitted for a national hymn. They are almost entirely descriptive, and of a particular event. Such lines as these [White quotes the second verse, mocked by Jon Stewart above] have not a sufficiently general application for a national hymn; they paint a picture; they do not embody a sentiment... (White, 1861, pp. 17-18.)

Nor was White, having detailed these defects, quite done. He went on to explain that the lines were 'too long' and the rhyme 'too involved;' they 'tax(ed) the memory' rather than aiding it. 'The rhythm, too, is complicated, and often harsh and vague.' (White, 1861, p.18) Still, he reluctantly concluded, while 'The Star-Spangled Banner' is '...so utterly inadequate to the requirements of a national hymn that the people stood mute while in some instances it was sung by a single voice, or in most cases it was only played by a band, is yet far the best of the

three songs, which, for lack of better, have until now been called American national airs'[12] (White, 1861, p.19).

'The Star-Spangled Banner' nonetheless enjoyed increasingly official status through the ensuing decades. Abril [13] (2007) summarizes, '(t)he road to become officially sanctioned began in the late nineteenth-century (sic) when the SSB became a required component of ceremonies and performances of the armed forces. However, in the first decades of the twentieth century, there were many who objected to its becoming the national anthem' (Abril , 2007, p.71).

Such was the level of ambivalence that, 75 years before launching its 'restoration' of the national anthem, MENC's predecessor, The Music Supervisors National Conference, passed a resolution addressed to Congress 'vigorously opposing' its adoption.' Its reasons:

> The resolution calls attention to three facets in connection with this song: that the approval of it as a national anthem would signify a unique endorsement of the song as embodying the ideals of our nation; the text largely the reflection of a single war-time event which cannot fully represent the spirit of a nation committed to peace and good will; that the music, while thrilling and effective when well sung on occasions of high patriotic fervor, is not suitable for frequent singing in school rooms and assemblages of many kinds where a national anthem is needed. (Weaver 1930, p.11.)

This nicely summarizes most of the main objections to 'The Star-Spangled Banner': its focus on war, and its unsingability, the latter compounded by its arcane language. Even its most ardent supporters concede that it is notoriously difficult to sing and to remember. A simple search on *YouTube* yields dozens of stirring versions of the anthem, and dozens more poorly sung or ill-remembered variants, from high school students to presidential candidates. [14]

The National Anthem Project Website, tnap.org, now opens with an explanatory note in the center of the page, which dates the project as 2004-2007. It reads, in part, 'In response to a 2004 Harris Interactive survey that showed two out of three Americans didn't know the words to our national anthem, MENC: The National Association for Music Education created the 'National Anthem Project: Restoring America's Voice' campaign in March 2005 to re-

teach the anthem while raising awareness of the importance of school music.' For much of the period of The National Anthem Project, though, the website did not open with an explanation or rationale for the project,[15] but rather seemed designed for a market already convinced of the problem. On offer then as now were links to make donations, download sheet music, download form letters to legislators, and purchase such 'awareness items' as lapel pins, mugs, and bumper stickers.

The introductory paragraph presents a taut history, in which MENC crafts a response to a survey result. Additional history of the origins of The National Anthem Project can be pieced together through the press releases and periodic statements or progress reports in MENC's *Music Educators Journal*. Further, a 'fact sheet' on the project website, entitled 'Has America Lost Its Voice?'[16] identified the central problem: a 'shocking lack of knowledge of American historic songs' (The National Anthem Project 2004). As evidence, the sheet revealed that 'nearly 2 in 3 Americans (61%) don't know all the words to 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' and of those who claim to know the words, 61% were caught in a (presumably unwitting) lie, following 'whose broad stripes and bright stars' with 'were so gallantly streaming' or 'gave proof through the night' instead of 'through the perilous fight.' Americans 'claim to be patriotic' but are '(un)aware of U.S. History.' And the 'fact sheet' also hinted at the answer to this dire situation: 'School Music Programs Play Key Part.' Before consideration of these 'facts,' I offer further history of the project which MENC initiated to address them.

One of the first signs of MENC's project as one focused on 'The Star-Spangled Banner' was published in the March 2004 issue of *Music Educators Journal* where a 'News Flash' featured a close-up color photo of a young, white girl wearing an American flag t-shirt and holding an American flag. The text read:

> MENC and the American Sportscasters Association are seeking funding from Congress in support of SingAmerica! – The National Anthem Project[17] The purpose of this project, which is supported in Congress by House Concurrent Res. 262 is to offer music education – specifically, nationwide celebration and commemoration of the national anthem – that will renew young Americans' sense of pride in the United States...' (MENC, 2004a).

H. Res. 262 commended MENC and urged Americans to participate because, among other reasons '… [patriotic song has] united Americans of all backgrounds through the history of the United States,' and the national anthem in particular 'holds a special place in the hearts and minds of the American people as a symbol of national unity, resolve, and willingness to sacrifice.'

In his last *Music Educators Journal* column as MENC President, in May 2004, Willie L. Hill, Jr. updated readers on the status of the SingAmerica project:

> [This National Anthem Project] program…seems to appeal to a broader public than we have ever been able to reach…We are building on the fact that only 39 percent of Americans can sing even the first verse of our national anthem. A troubling statistic – especially in this day when we all need to come together – but illuminated further by the fact that three out of four Americans say that they learned what they know of the anthem in music class at school (Hill, 2004).

Then, in February 2005, just prior to the official launch of The National Anthem Project, as MENC published *It Works for Me: The National Anthem and Other Patriotic Music in the Classroom*, MENC president David Circle said:

> There is an expression, 'If not me, who? If not now, when?' MENC believes that when it comes to our country's patriotic music, and particularly our national anthem, the answer to these questions is clear. Who will teach our nation and our children patriotic songs? Music teachers. When will they teach these songs? They are doing it now (MENC, 2005a).

Finally, at the launch of the program in March 2005, MENC Executive Director John Mahlmann said the following: 'Today our country is calling on our music educators to restore America's voice… We want to remind all Americans to cherish our national treasures and to celebrate our unity and our values in song' (MENC, 2005c).

'One goal of the campaign,' read the MENC press release:

> … is to change the practice of Americans listening to a soloist perform the anthem, particularly at special events, and to encourage everyone to sing the anthem together. 'The official standards for our anthem specifically state that the song was meant to be sung together, but now many Americans don't even know the words to the song or which song is the official anthem,' said (John) Mahlmann. 'Recent budget cuts to school music programs have silenced our nation, cutting off students from access to learning about our country's historical traditions. Music in schools provides the platform for citizenship that stays with us for a lifetime (MENC, 2005c).

Though all of these words were in service to the same project, the multiple actors each introduce their own nuances, suggesting variously that the project's import lies in patriotism, unity, citizenship, or 'cherishing.' What the statements have in common is their promotion of music education, and this specific music education project, as the answer to the problem. To convince its audience that the problem is real, MENC employs two primary assertions: Americans do not know the anthem. But they used to.

There is much to suggest that, in fact, Americans don't know the anthem.[18] Asked to sing it, the average person may stumble quickly, at most singing a single verse. Even some who 'know' it aren't aware that they're singing such mondegreens as 'dawnzer lee light', 'grapefruit through the night', and 'José can you see'.[19] Plentiful footage exists of people failing to remember the anthem, even when they might have expected it ahead of time or were, in fact, paid to sing it. Still, accurately answering the question of how well people know the anthem would require careful research. The National Anthem Project literature and statements rely on the 'Harris Interactive Survey' to gauge the severity of the problem. Indeed, in their own words, they 'build on,' and craft programming 'in response to' this survey. Only a more thorough review of documents reveals that the study was commissioned by them; that TNAP is responding to its own event, rather than one that just appeared on the horizon.[20]

The survey never appeared, to my knowledge, on the MENC or TNAP websites. A description of it appeared in one of the first press releases announcing The National Anthem Project. It appears to have been administered online to over 2,000 adults.[21] There is a bit of sleight of hand in the description, where a minimal margin of error associated with probability studies (though this is a non-probability study) is cited as a global margin of error for the entire survey (rather than for a particular question). Since the survey apparently included multinomial and well as binomial questions, it is hard to assess its overall reliability. But the language used to characterize the results, rather than employing caution, escalates in certitude, with this press release using the phrasing '…the survey showed that only 39 percent of Americans could complete the third line of the Star Spangled banner correctly...' and Willie L. Hill, Jr., quoted above, calling it a '… fact that only 39% can sing the anthem' (Hill, 2004). As the story was processed by the media, the certitude creep continued, with such headlines as 'Losing Their Voices: The Struggle for a Nation's Anthem and its People' (N.A., 2005), 'It's Become Perilous Fight To Get Anthem Lyrics Right' (Blundo, 2005), and 'Cuts in music education lead to need for National Anthem Project' (Brasch, 2005).

Survey respondents were apparently offered a 'yes/no/not sure' choice to the question 'Do you know all the words to the National Anthem?' Many factors complicate the interpretation of this result. First, some respondents are probably cognizant of the existence of other verses. Others are almost surely not. It's possible that three people who know the entire first verse of the anthem could, in good faith, give three different answers –yes, no, and not sure – to the question 'Do you know all the words to the National Anthem?' Likewise, it's possible that 'yes' could be answered by people with vastly different levels of familiarity, each with his own definition of 'knowing.' It's noteworthy, too, that while the language of the campaign was largely about singing the anthem, the language of the survey is about

'knowing the words.' One wonders whether a question such as 'Can you sing the national anthem?' might have yielded different data.

As confirmation of Americans' ignorance of the anthem, the 'Fact Sheet' indicates that 'of those who claim to know all the words, only 39 percent know what follows 'whose broad stripes and bright stars.' 34% answered 'were so gallantly streaming,' and 19% answered 'gave proof through the night,' rather than the correct answer, 'through the perilous fight.' This 'proof' of America's ignorance is especially wanting, for a variety of reasons. First, and perhaps too pedantically, **all** of the answers follow the line 'whose broad stripes and bright stars.' Second, of those who chose incorrectly, the most popular choices were in fact semantically logical, skipping over the temporal ('thru the perilous fight') and spatial (O'er the ramparts we watched') locators to get to the next meaningful verb: the broad stripes and bright stars.... **were** so gallantly streaming... (and) **gave** proof through the night, etc. Third, and most important, this quiz leverages the syntactic complexity of early 19th century poetry, the absence of tune, and the complete lack of normal singing context, to 'reveal' a lack of knowledge. This lack of knowledge is transformed into a *loss* of knowledge in The National Anthem Project publications.

While the methods used to establish the lack of knowledge of the anthem are unsatisfactory, few would dispute that, in fact, many people don't know it. Not even those who sponsored the protective legislation to keep the anthem in English necessarily knew it - responding to the introduction of that bill, the ABC news magazine show *Nightline* went to Washington DC and asked some congressional representatives to sing 'The Star-Spangled Banner' on camera. Barbara Mikulski and John McCain both offered robust versions. But, predictably, most fled like cockroaches surprised by a kitchen light. 'I can probably sing it with a group,' said Rep. Robert Aderholt, R-Ala. 'If I was in a group, I would sing it.' 'I'm not that good,' said another, as he begged off. 'I can't sing' said Kay Bailey Hutchison. And

Rep. Robert Ney, R-Ohio, a target of a corruption probe, waved (them) off claiming, 'I'm on the phone with my wife' (Rosenberg and Shipman, 2006).

Its comic value aside, I accept Aderholt's assertion. People who cannot sing or remember the anthem on command might do just fine in context, with a group bolstering them, aiding 'memory' and lowering the humiliation potential. Isn't group context, aided by music and companions, the only way most people **ever** knew the anthem?

A second and related assertion, which doesn't appear as such in the MENC materials but is both implied in them and which is often heard informally, is that Americans *used* to know and sing the anthem. The headline quote above - 'Cuts in music education lead to need for National Anthem Project' is an example of this, as is the quotes from John Mahlmann above, in part: 'but **now** many Americans don't even know (it); ' '**Recent** budget cuts to school music programs have **silenced** our nation...' (MENC, 2005c, emphasis added). Such formulations presuppose a past in which Americans knew and sang the anthem, in which America's voice did not have to be restored. Many people believe unquestioningly in such a past, and some even recall it. Nostalgia is embedded in many aspects of TNAP, from the language of the 'fact sheet': 'Has America Lost Its Voice?', to that of the press releases about 'restoring America's voice,' and launching a nationwide tour to 're-teach' Americans the anthem. But how accurate is this recollection? An excursion through some historical checkpoints may help us assess its precision.

In the 1936 film *My Man Godfrey,*[22] the exchange below takes place between Angelica (Alice Brady, playing the mother of Carole Lombard's character) and Godfrey (William Powell) as Angelica's 'protégé' Carlo (Mischa Auer) plays piano ('Ochi Chyornye' – she has just asked Carlo its name) and she knits. She speaks, as is her wont, at breakneck speed:

> Oh, that's the name, too. I thought it was just the words. I like it because the words are all the same, it makes it so easy to remember. That's probably why 'The Star Spangled Banner' is so confusing. Nobody seems to know the words. (laughs) Except perhaps Godfrey (he has just entered), he seems to know everything.
>
> Do you know the words, Godfrey?
>
> The words?
>
> Yes, yes, 'The Star Spangled Banner.' Nobody seems to know the words. Do you know them, Godfrey?
>
> I suppose I know as many as the average person.
>
> I feel ashamed of myself. I should know them all of course, because, after all, my ancestors came over on a boat. Oh, not the Mayflower, but the boat after that.

In March 1939, a public opinion survey found that, to the question 'Do you happen to know the name of the national anthem of the United States? 68% of respondents did, while 32% either said 'no' or were wrong' (American Institute of Public Opinion, 1939). It's hard not to be struck by the similarity with the MENC results; this is virtually identical to the results of the repeat survey in 2008. A 1943 editorialist asserted that the anthem was 'a flop as a national anthem and ...its repudiation should cause no regret' (Pegler, 1943). A 1947 Gallup Poll found that only 31% of respondents correctly identified 'The Star-Spangled Banner' as the U.S. national anthem (Gallup, 1947).

A 1950 letter to the editor opined that 'If United States patriotism were judged by knowledge of the words to the first verse of the 'Star-Spangled Banner,' we would be a sorry lot of Americans, indeed' (Tilleson, 1950). In 1960, a music teacher wrote of her surprise that, having suggested patriotic songs at the first meeting of her 7th and 8th grade chorus because 'everyone knows them,' she quickly found herself 'playing a piano solo.' The 'future leading citizens of the community,' she noted, could sing 'Witch Doctor' 'right down to the last ooh-ah-ah,' but 'not even the first verse of their country's national anthem (Fowler 1960). Two years later in Los Angeles, a school board member lamented the lack of student

participation in the anthem and proposed testing knowledge of it as a high school graduation requirement (*Los Angeles Times*, 1962).

In 1984, a 'Dear Abby' writer asked how children can be expected to remember this 'unsingable' anthem if even 'professional singers goof up' (Van Buren, 1984). The following year, a writer characterized 'getting through the anthem' as 'the most difficult challenge in American sport.' (Thomas, 1985). In 1998, a Maritz poll found that 62% of Americans correctly identify our national anthem[23] (Maritz, 1998).

The best evidence for the halcyon days of widespread anthem participation comes from the period of World War II, when, for example, 1941 saw 5,000 people gathered in Central Park to sing the anthem on the 127th anniversary of its writing. Led by Lucy Monroe, an actress who made a specialty of singing the anthem, the singing was reportedly 'fervent' and 'there were no slackers in the community effort.' But even this period provides mixed evidence. One wonders at the necessity for Movietone reels with sing along lyrics.[24] And consider this quotation, ironically from MENC's own *Music Educators Journal*:

> I sat in a theater on Broadway a week ago Sunday evening...the bandleader raised his baton and swung the musicians into the strains of the National Anthem. And there was a profound silence in that theater – the pathetic silence of two thousand still voices - a stifled silence which rose above the din of the martial music. Last fall I sat in that great Soldier Field in Chicago at a football game and watched 125,000 people stand mute while a thousand-piece massed band of high school musicians played the national anthem (Kent 1942, p.56).

The date of this publication? 1942. While 1942 may not have been the absolute zenith of patriotism in the U.S., it certainly falls within the past being referenced as a point of comparison here. In the same year, a letter writer, responding to the 'controversy' about the 'unsuitability' of the 'The Star-Spangled Banner' enjoins citizens to 'study both words and music, and thus be able to enjoy and feel the thrill of patriotism in one's participation' (Nagro 1942**).**

'The Star-Spangled Banner' has enjoyed broad public acceptance, but an undercurrent of abiding public indifference, or even rejection, is also a salient feature of its history. If, as MENC argues, there has been a 'loss' of the knowledge of the anthem, it's difficult to locate the prelapsarian period. The place of the anthem in American culture is at once remarkably stable and still unsettled. Where does the anthem fit, for example, in music education? The arguments that led the Music Supervisors National Conference to 'vigorously oppose' the adoption of the anthem are still live in the 21st century.

Statements from principals of The National Anthem Project, and narratives in their publications, asserted a clear relationship between school music instruction and knowledge of the anthem. 'For years,' said John Mahlmann, 'school music classes have been the first to be cut and we are now seeing the ramifications first hand' (MENC, 2004d). 'MENC believes budget cuts in school music programs are the reason so many Americans do now know the anthem' wrote an unidentified author in the MENC's *Music Educators Journal* (MENC, 2004b, 12). As I indicated earlier, the 'fact sheet' entitled 'Has America Lost Its Voice?' has as its subtitle 'Survey Reveals Impact of Music Education; Raises Questions About Budget Cuts' (The National Anthem Project, 2004).

Addressing music educators, MENC President David Circle (2005) wrote 'Where do Americans learn to sing 'The Star-Spangled Banner'? In music classes in school, of course. Where should Americans learn about the history behind 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' Francis Scott Key, and the long anxious night he spent at Fort McHenry? In music classes in school, of course.'

Have music classes in school much to do with whether people know the anthem? Almost surely, music class is a major component of each American's personal knowledge of the anthem. The data collected by MENC are not clear proof of the primacy of music class, though. The multiple choice format (respondents appear to have been asked: 'where did you

learn the anthem: a) music classes, b) sports events, c) I don't know?') lacks the kind of ethnographic depth that would facilitate a clear understanding of anthem acquisition. While 'in music classes' was the answer given by more than 70% of those who said they knew the anthem; recall that 61% of those people who *said* they 'knew the anthem' got the words wrong, according to MENC. Why should their recollection of where they learned the anthem be any more reliable that their assertion that they know it? And, of course, if school music classes were actually the site of this instruction, might not all of this evidence suggest that they were not a particularly effective transmitter of the anthem?

The most obvious reason to question this assertion - that knowledge of the anthem depends on school music education - is that it comes from a group whose chief function, after all, is to advocate for music education. In hitching music education to issues of Americanness, patriotism, heritage, and culture, MENC is raising the stakes, constructing an argument about the importance of music education which has a chance of persuading a public it believes is unconvinced of music's intrinsic significance. Simply put, our nation is imperiled without music education.

Above, I quoted Willie L. Hill, Jr., who wrote that The National Anthem Project '**seems to appeal to a broader public than we have ever been able to reach…**' (Hill 2004, emphasis added). That quote continues '…These statistics, along with others gathered for us by the Harris polling organization, **are important enough to a powerful enough constituency** that we are embarking on a campaign to revitalize the pride in America that singing the anthem can bring' (Hill, 2004, emphasis added).[25] Also writing in the *Music Educators Journal*, David Circle alludes to the waning potency of the 'Mozart Effect' strategy:

> I hope the answer to the question of why we are organizing the National Anthem Project is becoming clear. For some time now, we, music educators, have been justifying music education (on) the basis that 'it will make your kids smarter.' That may be so, but…music is not unique in that regard.

> Music's uniqueness is its ability to express feelings that the linear symbolism of words alone cannot express. I am not suggesting that music should be justified on the basis that it teaches patriotism. What I am asking is if students don't learn 'The Star-Spangled Banner' in our classrooms, where will they learn it? They sure won't learn it by listening to solo 'renditions' like those often heard at professional sporting events. (Circle, 2005)

Circle's quote makes clear that some music teachers were asking questions. In fact, he opens his piece with some of them. 'Perhaps you have had questions about the project such as, "Why did we launch into this project"? What has The National Anthem Project got to do with music education? How can singing the national anthem help my music program?' (Circle 2005). On the National Anthem Project Bulletin Board, since removed from (and lately restored as an archive on) The National Anthem Project website (http://www.thenationalanthemproject.org/nap_form.html), teachers trumpeted successes, shared ideas, and occasionally debated the appropriateness of the enterprise.[26] Responding to one poster's question of whether 'The Star-Spangled Banner' should 'be a priority among American music teachers' (Hebert, 2005), one teacher answered pragmatically that 'For years, my music program has been, at best, ignored. At the worst times, I've had to fight to keep my job. This project has caught the attention of my students and administration like nothing I've ever done before. Suddenly, my principal is interested in what I'm doing. My community is understanding that what I do has value' (Jim, 2005). The majority of posts expressing an opinion on the project were positive, and the few dissenters often received berating responses. Some contributors debated whether the project was essentially musical, historical, or patriotic.

The signs from MENC are sundry. The earliest statements tend to emphasize patriotism, while later ones emphasize historical knowledge or music education. The 'fact sheet' overview states that there 'is a problem with our country's ability to voice its patriotism and pride' (The National Anthem Project, 2004). Willie L. Hill, Jr. describes the project as revitalizing 'the pride in America that singing the anthem can bring' (Hill, 2004). 'If we

can't sing our own national anthem, we can't voice pride in our country and what it stands for,' said John Mahlmann, executive director, MENC, the National Association for Music Education. 'Music in schools provides the platform for patriotism that stays with us for a lifetime' (MENC, 2004d).[27] One of the earliest descriptions of the project on the MENC site read 'MENC is sponsoring The National Anthem Project to revive America's patriotism by educating Americans about the importance of The Star-Spangled Banner-both the flag and the song.'[28]

Indeed, reading MENC's own statements on the project, and attempting to tease apart expedience and principle, is a bit dizzying. Like the reversible images used in teaching the figure-ground problem in perception, the National Anthem Project was a patriotic enterprise which used music education as its vehicle, and also a music education project which used patriotism as its vehicle. Sending music teachers out to do battle, MENC constructed an argument for them – music teachers should do this because they will reach the public (who, it's implied, can't be reached through means having only to do with music's intrinsic worth) – and one for the public: it should support music teachers (when it wouldn't, ordinarily) because the nation is at stake.

'The Star-Spangled Banner' occupies a strange place in American society. On the one hand, it has weathered perennial attempts to replace it with prettier, more pacific, or less difficult songs. On the other hand, it is neither universally known nor universally appreciated. Nor is it, as one commentator put it, 'the song Americans turn to when in trouble' (Haberman, 2004). As Katherine Meizel (2006) points out, 'God Bless America' is often used where we might expect the anthem. Still, a case can be made that 'Anthem proves remarkably durable, well known among Americans' is as at least valid a headline for the present-day story of 'The Star-Spangled Banner' as 'Study shows Americans don't know the national anthem.' Both headlines are demonstrably true. Hence Rep. Aderholt's claim above that he could 'probably

sing it with a group.' This kind of knowing is not to be dismissed. It's a valid and useful kind of knowing, audible in recordings of early 20th century ballad singers, in unison hymn-singing in churches, and in contemporary baseball crowds. People rely on one another's knowledge to collectively fill in the gaps in the musical fabric. If you take a close-up picture, as it were, of an anthem performance, you may get a person bumbling (often at predictable points within the anthem). But a 'crowd shot' might (depending on a host of factors -- but not primarily on the ones MENC addressed through this campaign) yield a fine picture. If only the first verse is sung, as is most often the case, you're likely to get a decent start, a faltering somewhere between 'Whose broad stripes 'and 'streaming,' a struggle around 'And the rockets red glare' and then a rally at 'Oh say, does that' straight through to the end. That's a perfectly ordinary musical arc in any number of settings. If too many are faltering, fading out, and struggling (or if too few are masking them by singing confidently and well), then the musical fabric is ragged. Many factors determine **how** ragged, from the mindset and musical inhibitions of individual participants to factors specific to the performance. A loud enough, suitably paced, clearly heard accompaniment; an 'invitation' ('Please stand and join in the national anthem'); clear access to lyrics; a song leader – these are the sort of factors that augur well. Perhaps it is not coincidence that such features – unlike charges of musical incompetence - engage prospective singers in a partnership.

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**Endnotes**

[1] The 'Black Power salute' at the 1968 Summer Olympics is perhaps the most iconic of these; other controversies include those surrounding the actions of Carl Lewis (1993), Mahmoud Abdul-Rauf (1996), Josh Howard (2008), and Tyrese Gibson (2009). The Abdul-Rauf case receives a thoughtful treatment in Grewal (2007).

[2] Concerns about musical style and the anthem have a long history. In 1916, the Baltimore City Council enacted an ordinance aimed at preventing such 'desecrations' of 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' as 'ragtime mutilation,' performance in 'jig-time,' and use in medleys (*New York Times*, 1916). In 1938, A 'National Star Spangled Banner Association' was formed in Newark, NJ to prevent dance orchestras from 'swinging and jazzing' the anthem (*New York Times*, 1938). As with the issue of athletes 'disrespecting' the anthem, it is impossible to ignore the role of race, and of race relations, in these flare-ups. The best known progenitor of modern anthem experimentation, Jose Feliciano's 1968 Tiger Stadium performance of 'The Star-Spangled Banner' is clearly heartfelt and well practiced, with inflections and changes to the anthem that seem comparatively tame now. Still, Feliciano says '…all of a sudden, Tony Kubek, who was one of the announcers, comes up to me and says 'Do you realize what you've just done? And I said 'no.' He said, 'You have created a, a commotion here. Veterans were throwing their shoes at the television, and, and the switchboard really got deluged by calls. I mean, you created a real stir here.' I said, well, I was surprised. And Tony said, he patted me on the back and said 'But don't worry kid, you didn't do anything wrong. I really enjoyed the way you did 'The Star-Spangled Banner.'' So, but, after that happened, everything that I was doing was stopped. Radio stations stopped playing my records. It took me a long, long time, and even to this very day' (ItalianSportscars 2007). Marvin Gaye's intensely sweet and soulful performance of the anthem at the 1983 NBA All-Star Game in Inglewood, California

also evoked protest, though perhaps mostly from viewers. During the performance itself, cries of appreciation can be heard throughout, and the audience starts clapping along in anticipation of the end. Easily the most divisive anthem was the July 1990 performance by comedian Roseanne Barr, which then-President Bush termed 'disgraceful' (Farhi, 1990).

[3] Hardly a season goes by without an artist or citizen being mocked for memory slips in singing the national anthem. Robert Goulet's 1965 Maine performance occupied the first paragraph in many versions of his obituary 42 years later.

[4] Abril's article (2007) includes a consideration of the history, since 1894, of anthem translations, and of 'Nuestro Himno' in this context.

[5] Singer Rene Marie replaced the words of 'The Star-Spangled Banner' with those of 'Lift Every Voice and Sing,' sometimes called the 'The Black National Anthem,' in a July, 2008 performance in Denver.

[6] *A Prairie Home Companion* host Garrison Keillor has long been campaigning to have the anthem sung in G: he further urges us to 'it's not about war but about the survival of our flag and all that it stands for' (Keillor 2004). California psychiatrist Ed Siegel, arguing that the code-mandated key of B-flat is too high, was able to persuade his city council to pass a resolution 'saying that the federal government should establish the key of G major as the song's official key. The story made *The New York Times Magazine* list of the 'Year of Ideas' in 2004 (Skloot, 2004).

[7] Katherine Meizel (2006) explores the use and endurance of 'God Bless America' and 'God Bless the U.S.A. in American singing.

[8] Stewart's treatment of the matter on *The Daily Show* alludes in multiple ways to the peculiar place of the anthem in American culture: 'This anthem debate gets to the very (pause) surface of what it means to be American. The SSB, our national anthem, is special, written in the heat of the most important war in American history, the War of 1812, when America fought Britain for control of the (pause), uh, the overture, the 1812 overture…' He continued: 'Key set that tale to that most American of melodies, some obscure old English drinking song, creating a piece of music so powerful it took only 117 years for it to become our national anthem and the very symbol of the end of our broadcasting day. But rather than allow this country to be torn apart and asunder by this unbelievably stupid controversy, I have a solution. Did you know that Francis Scott Key also wrote three other verses to that that no one ever sings? May I quote from verse number two (over instrumental anthem), "On the shore, dimly seen through the mists of the deep, where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes", Christ, that would sound better in Spanish, or Klingon, or any other combination of syllables. And

there's two more crappy verses just like that one. And so I propose, keep (the first verse of) our anthem in English and give the rest whoever wants it. Because these immigrants are willing to sing the verses Americans don't want or won't sing. And for that I say, "Muy bueno"'. The clip can be seen at http://www.thedailyshow.com/video/index.jhtml?videoId=117771&title=Star-Spangled-Banner-Debate.

[9] Press releases and coverage can be seen at http://www.thenationalanthemproject.org/media.html.

[10] Formerly, because '… the long form of the name is no longer used. Today', their website (http://www.namm.org/faq/namm) explains, 'we simply say that NAMM stands for the interests of the global music products industry.'

[11] Photos of many of The National Anthem Project events can still be seen at http://www.thenationalanthemproject.org/celebrations.html.

[12] The other two were 'Yankee Doodle' and 'Hail, Columbia'.

[13] Abril (2007) provides a brief history of the anthem's promotion and eventual approval.

[14] Youtube is a rich source for especially stirring and especially deficient performances of the anthem. Several 'blooper montages' have been posted, among them those by nathandog77, tuckmann226, and yap02.

[15] Some earlier versions of the site are accessible via the 'wayback machine' at http://www.archive.org/web/web.php. Where accessibility of TNAP documents has been unstable, I give the archived version of the document url.

[16] Deborah Bradley (2009, p. 68) explores the implications of using the anthem to restore America's lost or weakened voice, noting noted the strange combination of 'banality' and 'exaggeration' in such slogans as 'restore America's voice.'

[17] The SingAmerica part seems to have been dropped and the website by that name abandoned. Searches for that term on the MENC site yield nothing from the project, although some old press information can be found on the web generally.

[18] Two cartoons from the *New Yorker* illustrate this nicely. In one, from Sept. 3 & 10, 2007 (p. 90), a teacher asks her students 'Who knows the words to the theme song of the United States?' In another, from May 12, 2008 (p.66), an unseen announcer at a baseball game intones 'Please stand and join us in half-assing your way through our national anthem.'

[19] This first mondegreen was made famous by Beverley Cleary in her children's book *Ramona the Pest,* and the second, more improbable one has been used by a number of comedians.

[20] David Circle (2005) uses the phrase 'commissioned by us,' and the phrase 'conducted on behalf of MENC' is used in MENC (2004b).

[21] The press release (MENC, 2004d) includes the following: 'Harris Interactive fielded the nine-question study February 12-16, 2004, via its QuickQuerySM online omnibus service, interviewing a nationwide sample of 2,204 U.S. adults (18+). In theory, with a probability sample of this size, one can say with 95 percent certainty that the survey's results have a statistical precision of plus or minus 3 percentage points of what they would be if the entire adult population had been polled with complete accuracy. This is not a probability sample. Data were weighted to be representative of the total U.S. adult population on the basis of region, age within gender, education, household income, and race/ethnicity.' In 2008, MENC commissioned a repeat study; the results now appear at http://www.tnap.org/factsheet.html.

[22] Thanks to Carole Engel for calling this to my attention. The entire film can be seen on YouTube at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EwTKdzJKc4E&playnext_from=PL&feature=PlayList&p=1344C40221138876&index=32

[23] The full poll results:

What is the name of our National Anthem?

62%: The Star Spangled Banner (correct)

2%: Oh Say Can You See

3%: America the Beautiful

3%: God Bless America

7%: Other

23%: Don't know

[24] Several of these can be seen on YouTube. Fred Waring and His Pennsylvanians at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8wYdMUrXQsE; and a Merrill Miller/Ben Loweree version is at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qdRbAcO_ZjM.

[25] This continues further, 'And by doing so, we'll be helping you, the leaders of our profession, engage your communities in discussions about and participation in music education. After all, our schools are the one place where all Americans...come together to learn. And it is learning through and about that cultural panorama that truly brings us together as one people' (Hill, 2004).

[26] This debate has also been animated within music education as an academic discipline. Jere Humphreys argued that '...the National Anthem Project sends questionable messages during this time of controversy over a foreign

war and the reduction of civil liberties at home and abroad, among other issues.' MENC, he noted, '… wisely declined to take sides during the divisive Vietnam War. Why appear to take sides now, when the nation is experiencing its most serious social divisions in more than thirty years?' (Humphreys, 2006, 6) Noting that '… (i)n 2006, amongst a war-time climate of absolutism, debates on immigration, multiculturalism, assimilation, and pluralism, "The Star-Spangled Banner" has resurfaced as an important song that should be learned in school'. Carlos Abril examined the project and its website resources, concluding 'Most of these efforts propel absolutist views, in which declared truths take a front seat to divergent truths and discoveries' (Abril, 2006, 81). Estelle Jorgensen suggested that 'at the very least the 'Star-Spangled Banner' ought not be the only song to teach the nation at this time and is important to carefully consider which songs we ought to teach the nation. And I propose that music teachers need to take a measured approach that eschews fundamentalism, rampant militarism, and excessive patriotism, embraces musically the tensions between internationalism, nationalism, and localism, and expresses a sensitive world-view through the choice of songs that cultivate and express liberal and democratic ideals and foster peace internationally' (Jorgensen 2006, 150). Most recently, Deborah Bradley has argued that 'MENC's positioning of the "Star Spangled Banner" within the music education advocacy argument locates the anthem as the means to an end, or what Adorno refers to as "a propagandistic device or an ideological export article". Music used thusly is, according to Adorno, a purveyor of false consciousness.' Casting a keen eye on the National Anthem Project website, Bradley noted that it 'offers little to no acknowledgement (in either text or pictures) that the United States is a country whose population is racially and ethnically mixed, indeed is multi-cultural; the site implies a unitary, predominantly white, American identity. While the face of one child of color appears in the banner repeated at the top of each page associated with NAP, white faces and military bands dominate the majority of website images ... suggest(ing) an eerie uniformity' (Bradley, 2009, 12-13).

[27] Note the shift in MENC 2005c to 'platform for citizenship.'

[28] This page was at http://www.menc.org/guides/menctour/AssocPrograms.html and can now be found via the March 11, 2005 version of the MENC site as archived at: http://web.archive.org/web/20050307121320/www.menc.org/guides/menctour/AssocPrograms.html.

# ‘I drum, therefore I am’? Thoughts on an integrated model of identity and learning: preliminary findings from on-going research by a doctoral student

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*Abstract*
Drummers are under-represented in the research literature, and are frequently misunderstood; books and web sites are dedicated to ‘drummer jokes’, and perhaps the world’s best-known drummer is one of Jim Henson’s Muppets. So who are these people? What and how do they learn? Identities and music education are closely linked, for, as Green has noted, ‘identity… (is) ‘intrinsically and unavoidably connected to particular ways of learning’ (Green, 2002: 216). Drummers’ identities and learning are explored and explained using a new model of the Snowball Self. Increasingly, drummers are finding their teaching and learning legitimized by the educational establishment. Formal and informal learning are discussed, including use of the internet as an educational resource; the internet can of course also be a vital tool in identity realization. The paper presents ongoing research from a PhD student at the University of London. The study is from an emic perspective as the researcher is a drummer and drum kit teacher. Data have been collected from semi-structured interviews, observations and questionnaires with two groups of participants – teenage drummers, and professional drummers over the age of thirty. It is hoped that this work-in-progress will interest music education practitioners as well as music education sociologists.

## Introduction

The title of this study is borrowed from Descartes. For him, thinking, or the capacity to think, is the defining feature of his existence. He writes:

> observing that this truth: *I think, therefore I am*, was so certain and so evident that all the most extravagant suppositions of the sceptics were not capable of shaking it, I judged that I could accept it without scruple as the first principle of the philosophy I was seeking. ([1637, 1641] 1968, p.53-54)

Anyone claiming 'I drum, therefore I am' may expect to face more scepticism than greeted this ground-breaking assertion of Descartes'; we all think, but drumming is done by fewer people and may often regarded as a mere hobby. A couple of years ago I was having a deep-and-meaningful conversation with Chris, an old friend and fellow musician, who I had known for more than twenty years. We were discussing the directions of our lives and plans for our respective futures, and he said to me, 'you *are* drums'.

A chance encounter with an advertisement for a t-shirt on the internet one evening eighteen months later led me to discover the slogan 'I drum, therefore I am'. I immediately purchased two t-shirts bearing that legend, confident that it was probably true enough for me that I could wear it more than once. Wearing the t-shirt makes me feel good (and it comes in handy at conferences too), but it set me to thinking about whether or to what extent Chris and the t-shirt are right. Does anyone take drumming that seriously? The gravity of the sentiment is clear from what Descartes goes on to say:

> if I had only ceased to think… I would have had no reason to believe that I existed; I thereby concluded that I was a substance, of which the whole essence or nature consists in thinking. ([1637, 1641] 1968, p.54)

From a sincere but fleeting remark by a friend, via a clever t-shirt, to 18th-century French philosophy about the very essence of human existence was quite a journey. I wondered

whether the participants in this study could handle its implications. If one paraphrases Descartes thus:

> if I had only ceased to *drum*… I would have had no reason to believe that I existed; I thereby concluded that I was a substance, of which the whole essence or nature consists in *drumming*,

one wonders whether there is anyone for whom so strong a statement might be true. Life, after all, is complicated, and we have many allegiances to keep, obligations and tasks to perform – could drumming mean this much to any person? Descartes may be turning in his grave at the thought of a silly Englishman, hundreds of years his junior, arguing that, rather than thinking being the very essence of what makes a person truly exist, that essence in fact lies in drumming. However, I defer to Descartes and accept that he may well have a valid point in the case of many people. Descartes, however, undertook no sociological research among kit drummers – for he was doubtless a busy man. It now falls to me, therefore, to see whether, how, or to what extent this borrowed and adulterated proposition may be true: 'I drum, therefore I am'?

This paper addresses not only drummers' identities but also their education. Green (2002: 216) writes that 'identity… (is) "intrinsically and unavoidably connected to particular ways of learning"', and it is with this statement in mind that I propose a model and present data that, between them, endorse Green's idea. I would go further than her, though, and suggest that there is a strong case for saying that drummers' identities are 'intrinsically and unavoidably connected' to all of the ways in which they learn.

**Rationale**

Kit drummers have rarely, if ever, been the focus of scholarly research. I believe this to be the first study to look at identities and learning of kit drummers; a disclaimer may therefore be

necessary to justify some of the fun I have been having. Cohen (1991) includes a paragraph's apology for the absence of references to academic literature throughout her book (although she does reference a lot of it). She excuses herself because when she conducted her research there was precious little academic writing on her field of research. The same is true for me, so I have had to rely on many colourful and interesting non-academic texts and other media, anecdotes and conversations to raise and discuss the issues.

Merely being a pioneer, however, is not sufficient reason to spend several years of one's life engaged in an intensely interesting piece of research. Most of the music played by drummers in the UK can be broadly grouped under the umbrella of popular music, with a notable majority also playing jazz. Drums are fundamental in many styles of popular music, and the study of popular music, by sociologists among others, is a growing field. Popular music education is also undergoing rapid expansion in the UK and in the US, both inside and outside the mainstream school systems. For these reasons kit drummers are becoming something of an elephant in the room; who are these people? What do they do? And how do they learn to do it?

## Methodology

The methodological framework for this paper is qualitative and sociological, borrowing also from ethnomusicology and phenomenology. Often these disciplines do not remain entirely pure in practice, overlapping as necessary for research. Practices of sociology of music education employed in this study are, therefore, informed and hopefully strengthened by drawing on good practice from methodologies of related disciplines. Authors whose methods have guided those employed here include Bennett (2000), Bresler & Stake (2006), Cresswell (2007), DeNora (2004), Finnegan (1989), Fournais et al (1995), Green (2002), Stålhammar

(2006), and Stock (2004). As with much qualitative enquiry, this study set out not to prove or to disprove any particular point; rather, it was hoped that as the research progressed data would be gathered, from which a theory would emerge. In this way it adheres to the spirit and practices of grounded theory (Glaser, 1992; Glaser & Strauss, 1968).

## Methods of enquiry

Data were collected from participants by conducting semi-structured interviews with two groups of drummers: teenagers, and professionals over the age of 30. Ten teenagers and five professional drummers were interviewed. Teenagers were interviewed twice where possible, in order to uncover more about musical influences and learning practices; professionals were interviewed only once, so as not to create too big a disruption to their work. Interviews lasted for between 20 minutes and one hour and three quarters. It was decided that both teenagers and professionals would be asked to participate, in order that data about identity might be compared and contrasted between generations of drummers. For the purposes of triangulation, questionnaires were also handed out to 83 drummers at trade shows and a music college. The questionnaires were designed to elicit from respondents short, often one-word answers to the questions also put to interview participants.

In addition to the interview and questionnaire data, and for further triangulation, a review of relevant literature was undertaken. Sociological and educational texts about kit drummers being few, much of the literature was in the form of biographies and interviews with drummers, liner notes to recordings, and interviews on broadcast media. Ethical guidelines as defined by the British Educational Research Association (BERA, 2004) were followed, in accordance with the ethics requirements of the University of London, to which I as researcher am affiliated.

## Perspective

My perspective as researcher in this study is an emic one. I am a professional drummer over the age of 30, and spent seven years as a teenage drummer. I also teach popular music education in formal and less formal settings. I live in the south-east of England, whence all of the participants were sourced. I believe that my perspective as an insider to the worlds of drumming and education serves to strengthen the study, both in terms of data collection and data analysis. In interviews with fellow drummers, conversation has flowed freely once it has become clear that we share not only points of reference but also a deep enthusiasm for our art. I feel that sharing what Tyriakian (1973) has called an 'assumptive frame of reference' has facilitated the gathering of data of a richness that might have slipped through the fingers of a more objective observer – for it is cold objectivity that is lacking in this research. All data need to be interpreted; mine have been interpreted by an expert insider.

## A tribe?

Although Budofsky (2006) refers to drummers both as a 'community' and as a 'brotherhood', Guy Richman points out that 'there is one guy in the band playing drums.' Blatantly obvious though this may at first seem, it is crucial to an attempt at theorizing drummers – they are not a community in the sense that one can go and live in a village of drummers for six months and make meticulous observations about their daily lives and musical habits. Rather, they a disparate bunch, and while there are perhaps some generalities to be drawn, drummers are lone operators, aware of one another professionally and perhaps collaborating at school or college; but, ultimately, drummers may be helpfully understood as people sharing 'the desire

to express oneself through a particular style of living' (Hetherington, 1998: 50). Bennett & Kahn-Harris (2004) and Maffesoli (1996) call such collective a 'tribe' or 'neo-tribe'.

## Identity

Identity, it seems, can be a hard thing to pin down. Grotevant (1992: 73) has noted the 'theoretical complexity' of 'the concept of identity'. Jorgensen provides a suitably dialectical working definition, finding that 'the notion of "identity" is itself an imaginary construction, an ambiguous, fuzzy, and complex notion that is subjective and objective, individual and collective, normative and descriptive, malleable and committed, dynamic and static' (Jorgensen, 2003: 31). 'Identity' is indeed a notion, an idea – people seem to know roughly what it means, but there is no consensus as to exactly what it is. In response to the theoretical ambiguity surrounding identity, at the 2008 annual conference of the Society for Research on Identity Formation (SRIF) in Chicago, keynote speaker Dr. Philip Dyer expressed his wish to hold a 'Paradigm Party' in order that the Society might soon know and therefore be in a better position tell others exactly what it is that it stands for.

Erikson (1950, 1968) and others (Borthwick & Davidson, 2002; Cheug & Yue, 2003 a & b; DeNora & Belcher, 2000; Dibben, 2002; Gracyk, 2001; Grotevant, 2002; Hargreaves et al, 2002; Marcia, 1980; O'Neill, 2002; Shank, 1994; Stets & Burke, 2003; Tarrant et al, 2002; Waterman, 2007) talk about specifically 'identity', whereas Angrosino (2007) refers not to identity but to 'the self", a term also taken up by Jackson & Rodriquez-Tomé (1993). Cheung & Yue (2003b) consider 'identity' but also writes about 'self concept', a term shared by Morrison & McIntyre (1972) and by Hargreaves et al (2002). The Society for Research on Identity Formation (SRIF) proclaims an interest in 'human self-definition' (http://w3.fiu.edu/srif/SRIF-DRK/About_Srif_05_10_01.htm).

Crocker & Park (2003) in turn write about 'genuine self-esteem' and 'a true sense of self-worth, self-respect, and acceptance of one's strengths and weaknesses.' Hampson (1982) talks about both 'self-perception' and 'personality' which appear to refer interchangeably to identity. Lamont et al (2002) conceive of identity in terms of 'self understanding' and self-other understanding', while Kirchler et al (1993) describe adolescents' exploration of 'autonomy' in a way that sounds a lot like identity. Hegel (1910) describes 'individuality' as a construct that seems to fit under the umbrella of contemporary concepts of 'identity'. All of the above scholarly contributions, from among numerous others, help to form a broad conception of identity and identities. All are useful in describing aspects of or views on identity.

**Meta-identity and contextual identities**

Hampson (1982) raises the helpful notion of people having multiple identities, an idea also appearing in the work of Brabazon (2002), Fornas et al (1995), Gracyk (2001), Hargreaves et al (2002) and Stets & Burke (2003). Stets & Burke (2003: 132) explain that 'most interaction is not between whole persons but between aspects of persons having to do with their roles and memberships in particular groups or organizations: their identities'; an identity, then, is an act that one performs, or a hat that one wears. Drummers can be drummers in many contexts. For this reason I propose to consider 'drummer' as a meta-identity, while the various identities occurring in particular situations can be called contextual identities.

**Obtaining identity – identity realization**

It appears that the means by which a person comes by his or her identities is undecided. Some writers talk of identity *achievement* (Cheug & Yue, 2003 a & b), while others write of identity *development* (Campbell, 1998; Morisson & McIntyre, 1972) or identity *resolution* (Marcia, 1980), and yet others describe identity *formation* (Fornas et al, 1995; Markstrom-Adams, 1992). These are muddy waters indeed. These means of obtaining identity are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but they do suggest different perspectives on the phenomenon of identity as well as suggesting different levels of engagement from drummers with their own identities. I wish to reject the term 'resolution' for two reasons – 1) it sounds permanent, which does not fit with my understanding of identity and 2) it sounds unduly negative. This is not to suggest that realising one's identity cannot be problematic; but that to conceive of it merely as something discordant or troublesome and in need of being solved does not sit well. 'Achievement' for me is again a little too final. 'Formation' sounds rather military or distractingly reminiscent of synchronized swimming; and while it does allow for change, I feel that it is not a broad enough term. Finally 'development' tends to suggest growth or improvement, neither of which is necessarily the case. I would prefer instead to take my cue from Hegel (1910: 417, ibid.) and borrow his term to use in my new model of Identity *Realization*.

'Realization' has two commonly understood meanings. Realization in the sense of realizing plans for an event, or realizing a chord chart or drum part in sheet music terms, is a useful metaphor for the sense in which identity can result from effort and agency of an individual (Gracyk, 2001). This is called active identity realization (AIR). Realization also works according to its other common meaning, inasmuch as a person's identity and learning can be very much about reflection or sudden awareness (James, 1884). One may be acting out

a particular role without immediately noticing. This is called passive identity realization (PIR). These two compatible ways of viewing how identities are obtained provide a useful lens for the study of drummers.

Waterman (1992: 58) marries the dual meanings of identity realization in his interpretation of the philosophy of 'Eudemonism' which 'is an ethical theory that calls upon people to recognize and live in accordance with the *daimon* or 'true self'". Recognition of one's daimon seems similar to passive identity realization, while living in accordance with that daimon is tantamount to active identity realization. Waterman (1992: 58) asserts that 'individuals high on eudemonic well-being will be flourishing'.

I propose a metaphor to help with describing identity realization, – the Self as a Snowball; a Snowball that we can either allow to roll freely on or off the meandering mountain pistes of life, or that we or (an)other(s) can guide along the slopes and surrounding terrain. When we guide the Snowball along in a direction of our choosing, we know whence we will gather snow (identities), and may have a good idea of what that snow is like – or at least we have every intention of finding out. When another person guides the ball on our behalf or we take a surprise turn, however, we may discover that we have acquired unexpected identity-snow. If we reach an easy, gentle slope, we may choose to run alongside our Snowball, allowing it to roll freely, bouncing off the occasional mogul, gathering no snow as the surface hardens, or acquiring material of a type unnoticed by us until we turn around to glance at our Snowball Self and discover that it looks different than the last time we checked. As the Snowball rolls, different parts of it (identities) will become visible – some more or less so than others. It is also likely that snow will fall off, become covered up or be forgotten about, and may need to be replenished by a return to a particular area of the piste. Jorgensen eloquently describes her changing passive identity realization in terms that parallel how the Snowball Self works:

> I am unsure that even in middle age I can articulate my sense of self fully… Rather, it seems that as I live my life I am conscious of a changing awareness of what is important to me and who I am. (Jorgensen, 2003: 29)

At a recent conference, it was pointed out to me that in Texas (whence hailed several delegates), the Snowball Self would rapidly melt. For this reason, it may be necessary to conceive of the metaphorical snowball existing in the eternal winter of C. S. Lewis's Narnia. Of course, the Snowball Self is formed not of identities alone, but also of learning; this is discussed below.

## Findings: identity

### *Relationships and roles*

The world inhabited by drummers is one in which they can be portrayed as different from other musicians, singled out socially and musically. As drummer Chad Smith acknowledges, '"we've all heard more than a few drummer jokes, usually involving some kind of drooling caveman who can't count"' (cited by Smith in Budofsky, 2006: 4). Bill Bruford, also a drummer, captured this notion of the drummer as simultaneously internal and external to proceedings in the title of his 1999 album *A Part, And Yet Apart*. To introduce the findings of this study, one should begin with what is perhaps the quintessential drummer joke:

> What do you call someone who hangs around with musicians?
>
> A drummer!
> (www.drumjokes.com)

This joke, part of the lore of musics involving kit drummers, pokes fun at that dichotomy distilled by Bruford in his album title. How, then, are drummers' identities realized?

As the joke implies, drummers are fundamentally ensemble musicians. It seemed important to gauge what drummers felt was their role in an ensemble, for, as Guy (interviewee) points out, 'the drummer's the only guy in the band playing drums' – his or her

role is unique. Unlike the suggestion in the joke – that drummers exist somehow outside of the music, being an add-on – drummers often speak of the necessity to integrate fully with band; a high degree of musical intimacy is sought:

> I sure be trying to get next to whoever I'm playing with. I'm trying to get right inside them, to just *think* with them with one mind... and sometimes we can get so close, man, until we all sound like one person. (Ali, cited in Wilmer, 1977: 172)

> I've always been in a band with Rupert. So me and him have this kind of – we know what each other's thinking, a lot of the time. (Steve)

> The bassist I'm working with at the moment, Loz, we've formed a relationship where he can anticipate what I'm doing, and he can anticipate what I'm going to do next – it's really, really, it's a really *men*tal connection! It's really, really good. It's really important to have that relationship with a bass player. (Luke)

These three drummers describe one aspect of how they go about active identity realization in the context of a band. Passive identity realization also occurs in this context. John Hiseman realizes that in his role a drummer should 'play the band'. Guy has found that:

> … the bass player and the drummer together create a meter, and maybe a groove, for the others to sit on.

Ursula also identifies a contextual identity, playing the band in her own way:

> … being a drummer in a band? You are the foundation. If you've got a conductor or whatever, you're the end of that conductor's stick, and you're the driver… People have said to me, there have been other musicians, who've happened to come along when I've been playing somewhere. They've said 'that band wouldn't have been so good; you know, you were driving that band.'

Ursula's comment points to Waterman's eudemonism, the reciprocal relationship between passive and active identity realization; she actively realized her identity as driver of the band, and following others' comments, passively realized that identity for herself. This in turn was presumably followed by further active realization of that identity. (Ursula's identity realization is described in the past tense because at the time of interview she had recently retired as a musician.)

The role of the drummer as the driver or the foundation of a band is recurrent throughout the data. Questionnaire respondents said of their role in a band that they:

> … hold and set the tempo
>
> … lay down the beat
>
> … keep the bastards in line
>
> and
>
> … drive it in the direction.

Drummer Louis Bellson finds that:

> … the drummer is in the driver's seat. You've got hold of the wheel, and you've got to let the band know you're in control. (Bellson cited in Budofsky, 2006: 37)

Similarly, Budofsky feels that:

> … a great drummer is a benevolent dictator, leading by example, not by force (Budofsky, 2006: 107)

Chris, concurring, finds that:

> everyone listens to you for time… ,

while Guy expresses the passion with which most participants imbued their responses, when he describes the conflict between his identity as a curator the tempo of a song and his professional responsibility to follow a conductor:

> … the drummer's job is timekeeping… I personally feel that if I just gave in to that [the wavering of tempo from the conductor] and went 'oh well, we're slowing down', then my soul's dying if that happens. It's not good enough for me.

*The drummer as leader*

Another drummer joke goes:

> How do know when a drummer has arrived at the party?
>
> The knocking gets faster and he doesn't know when to come in!
> (www.drumjokescom)

This suggestion that drummers can be incompetent musicians and poor timekeepers is, however, countered throughout the music community. Music journalist Barney Hoskyns describes the position of drummer in a band as 'the captain of the band' (in conversation with

the author, 2008). Similarly, '[drummer] Baby Dodds… once called the drummer the conductor of the band' (Wilmer, 1977: 155). Drummer Rashied Ali had the following to say about the position of the drummer in a band:

> … it seems like drummers are actually natural leaders. With a good drummer there's no end to how far a band can excel because, like, a band is only as good as its drummer. If the rhythm ain't correct, then the group's not happening. (Wilmer, 1976: no page no.)

From these statements, it seems that drummers are often renowned for and aware of their roles as de facto leaders in ensembles. However, drummers are invariably at the back of a band, pushing from behind, probably for reasons of loudness as much as any sort of notional musical hierarchy in bands.

Some drummers perhaps see themselves as sort of back-seat drivers – out of the limelight, but with a central role. Steve comments on this attitude, saying that:

> I do know why I play drums – 'cause I want to be in a band, but I don't want to be at the front.

For some drummers, though, this inconspicuous leadership style is not enough; they want their perceived musical position emphasised on stage. Luke says:

> … it's not like drummers should be in the back of the room; it's like I want to be the front of the band – it's just like, that's just the way I am.

The role of a drummer, while being ridiculed in drummer jokes and simultaneously respected in musical circles, changes according to the ensemble with whom a given drummer is playing. Bill Bruford recalls a particularly difficult experience:

> … trying to write the album U.K. was a little like four writers all trying to write the same novel simultaneously, with only the barest common understanding of the plot… this method of music making was, and is, laborious, exhausting, and expensive. (Bruford, 1988: 39)

His response was to start his own band. As he says:

> … little wonder then that the idea of running one's own groups was so appealing. How wonderful to do away with the committee method of music making; how

> quick and pure and simple to bring your ideas to life when you pay the salary checks! (Bruford, 2008: 39)

Drummers such as Bruford, and other leaders like Blakey and Fairclough, put paid to the notion purveyed by this drummer joke, that drummers are not particularly creative:

> What's the last thing you're likely to hear a drummer say?
>
> 'Hey Guys, do you wanna try one of my tunes?'
> (www.drumjokes.com)

Teenage interview participant, Natalie also prefers to have creative control over the bands in which she plays. She says:

> … when I was in bands and I was in charge… I prefer that, 'cause then I can just do whatever I want. (Natalie)

Drummers leading bands are in the minority; and, of course, leading one band does not mean that a drummer will the same role in every ensemble with whom he or she plays, as Luke and Chris explain:

> I've been in various bands and I've just been 'the drummer', where my job is *just* to drum. And its just like, this is bollocks… Yeah, I do the job for that, but I don't really enjoy it if I'm in a band like that. (Luke)
> From my old band that I started with… It depends… If you have a creative, if you're there from the beginning at the beginning and you help write the songs, roles just are just different. It depends. (Chris)

**Uniqueness**

What appears to be important to many drummers, regardless of their precise role, is that they are recognizable, that each has a unique voice. Expressing an attitude toward active identity realization, Bruford writes that:

> … we all want our own personal musical signature, recognizable from a hundred paces away. (Bruford, 1988: 51)

The following drummers aspire to do exactly this:

> … when you listen to music you think 'I can play that but in a different way' – that's what I think. (Gifty)

> I'd like to think that… there is some original, sort of, blend of influences there. I hope so. (Chris)

> I would, I guess, if I ever got bigger… Yeah, you need to add your own. (Senan)

Steve is pleased to recognize his uniqueness, through the passive identity realization that there is something special individual about his manner of playing the drums:

> … we had a drum tech who – I turned up late for sound-check so he had to do the sound-check for me, and he's a great drummer, he's a brilliant drummer. But he couldn't get the simplest of the tunes that we do. And he was playing all the parts exactly right, but it just wasn't *right*, you know? That's brilliant! I've got it – you haven't!

The desire for recognition, however, is not universal. Others appear not to need to express a sense of individuality. Guys says:

> A signature style? No. Obviously I got into the business and realized that if you're going to be successful, i.e. *work*, you've got to have a command and an understanding of different styles, and different styles of music so I suppose… I suppose, if you like, I'm a Jack of All Trades. (Guy)

Ursula also suggests that her primary concern is with making music, rather than with making her mark:

> … isn't the challenge using these two sticks and what you can do with them? Almost on one spot, if you like – just on one drum. (Ursula)

In actively realizing identities as working drummers, both Guy and Ursula may have passively realized identities as non-unique performers.

**Age**

In the film 'rockumentary' *This Is Spinal Tap*, drummers for the band Spinal Tap are apparently doomed to meet an early death. John 'Stumpy' Pepys is reported to have died in a bizarre gardening accident; Eric 'Stumpy Joe' Childs purportedly choked on vomit; and Peter 'James' Bond is alleged to have spontaneously exploded on stage. The reality for drummers,

at least in the small (living) sample taking part in this study, is rather different. Ageing is a process that affects a musician's ability to play the drum kit. As Ian Paice succinctly explains:

> … getting old is a fucker.

Guy, too, finds that:

> I'm really feeling it this year – it's probably due to smoking, drinking, getting old.

and Ursula too finds that ageing takes its toll physically on a drummer:

> I think as you get older - I mean, I think of all the equipment I used to lift and carry.

In actively realizing their meta-identities as drummers, these interviewees also passively realize contextual identities as ageing drummers.

## Findings: learning

### *Introduction*

Learning has been explained in terms of formal, non-formal and informal learning. Rennie & Mason (2004: 110) cite Eraut's (2000) conditions for formal learning:

- A prescribed learning framework.
- An organized learning event or package.
- The presence of a designated teacher.
- The award of a qualification or credit.
- The external specification of outcomes.

While it may not be necessary to meet all of these criteria in order to consider that learning is taking place formally, this type of learning is distinct from what have been termed informal and non-formal learning: 'informal learning results from activities in daily life at work, at home, at leisure; non-formal learning is intentional on the part of the learner and structured in terms of learning objectives, but is not provided by a recognized education or

training institution' (Rennie & Mason, 2004: 111). Of course, learning is never actually provided by any institution – institutions provide *teaching*, presumably in the hope that *learning* takes place as a result.

Green (2002, 2008) expands on this explanation of informal learning, locating it in a specifically musical context. She highlights particularly that informal learners choose to learn music that they know and like; for instance that learning by ear from audio recordings is commonplace; and that norms include peer-directed learning and group learning. I have chosen to enfold non-formal learning into a broader conceptualization of informal learning in order that learning becomes easier to discuss – I love a good dichotomy, and I find the non/in-formal distinction an awkward one. Formal and informal learning experiences form part of what I have chosen to call active learning realization.

Following Campbell (1998), Green (2002) talks about 'musical enculturation', which 'refers to the acquisition of musical skills and knowledge by immersion in the everyday music and musical practices of one's social context'. Musical enculturation therefore embraces formal and informal learning, and is perhaps akin to what Bamberger (1978) refers to as 'intuitive musical knowing'. Green (2002) refers also to 'unconscious learning'. These constructs are similar to and embraced by my new construct of passive learning realization. Along with active learning realization, this forms a dichotomy that I have found very helpful as lens through which to view the myriad learning phenomena that comprise the drummers' learning experiences.

The Snowball Self is conceived of as being constructed (realized) not by identity alone, but by learning as well; the Snowball is built simultaneously by realization of both identity and learning. Active learning realization refers to any situation where a drummer (or anyone else, for that matter) makes a conscious decision to (try to) learn something. Passive learning realization occurs whenever something is learned inadvertently – not without agency,

but without intention to learn what is learned. If passive learning realization (PLR) and active learning realization (ALR) are combined, we have PALR. Together with together with passive and active identity realization (PAIR), these describe how the Snowball Self is composed; it is comprised of experiences of learning and of identity, of PALR and PAIR.

To reiterate, PALR and PAIR are not entirely separate, nor are they equivalent or entirely conjoined. They overlap, and *together* they complete the fully realized Snowball Self (see below). In the film *Fight Club*, Jack prays to his friend and alter-ego, Tyler Durden:

> May I never be complete. May I never be content. May I never be perfect. (Fincher, 1999)

Fortunately for Jack, the Snowball Self will not allow anyone to be complete – identities keep on being realized and drummers just carry on learning. Earlier in the same film, Tyler says to Jack, 'you are not a beautiful and unique snowflake' (Fincher, 1999); Tyler is right – Jack is, as drummers are, not a snowflake but a complex and ever-changing Snowball Self. Bill Bruford explains, with a different analogy, how this has proven to be the case for him as a drummer:

> … the path to a fruitful career will inevitably involve perpetual change in a continual redefinition of yourself and your goals. So much of being successful in music is not different to being successful in any other field. It hangs on knowing what is and what is not possible and, like the goldfish, on swimming around the rocks rather than continually banging in to them. (Bruford, 2009: 180)

**Where learning and identity meet**

I will contend once more toward the end of this paper that learning and identity are always virtually inseparable. However, one way in which identity and learning most conspicuously come together is neatly portrayed in this joke:

> How many drummers does it take to change a light bulb?
>
> 21 – 1 to change the bulb, and 20 to tell you how Buddy Rich would have done it! (www.drumjokes.com)

This joke pokes fun at drummers' propensity to talk at length about their favourite drummers, and especially about a few 'star' drummers who have come to epitomize the art; these master-drummers are exemplars of their trade and as such are common points of reference among members of the drumming neo-tribe. When drummers get together, they can talk really talk drummers! What this exclusive (and occasionally antisocial) manner of conversation also reveals about drummers, though, is that they tend to learn rather a lot about other drummers. Traditionally, as Green (2002) points out, learning from audio recordings (and, as demonstrated below, increasingly new media) has been one of the principal means for musicians in popular genres to learn to play. There is much evidence of this among participants; teenage drummer Matt, in his second interview with me, took me from A – Z on his iPod, eagerly and enthusiastically listening to and talking about his musical influences!

Drummers, as other musicians, learn not just by listening, but also by playing along to recordings. Stuart Cable, drummer for the Stereophonics, recalls in his autobiography that:

> I would tape favourite songs and just play along to them. (Cable & Bunko, 2009: 22)

Steve, also in a successful pop band, remembers that

> … we had an attic in our house, our old house. I just stuck a drum kit up there, stuck my Walkman on and just started playing to tunes that I loved.

Luke, apparently, cannot resist engaging in this practice, even without being near his instrument:

> … coming back from my girlfriend's the other day, and I was… air drumming on the tube.

As kit drumming has becoming increasingly accepted within formal education as a legitimate musical activity for aspiring young musicians, so the boundaries between formal and informal learning practices become blurred. This is one reason why it may be helpful to think of all instances of intentional learning as examples of active learning realization. Daljit, a thirteen-year-old student, describes how his school drum lessons work:

> … yeah. Once we're really good on a beat he [the teacher] gets, like, a record like Slipknot and he lets us play for it.

As well as learning from recordings, drummers can learn a lot from printed media. The UK market manages to sustain two glossy printed magazines for drummers, issued monthly. These magazines, *Rhythm* and *Drummer*, invariably feature on the front cover a full-page photo of a star drummer who will often have graced the cover on numerous previous occasions. Each issue features articles and interviews with several drummers. Also available in the UK is the US publication *Modern Drummer*, which is published to a similar model. Drummers' thirst to read about tribal peers and elders fuels a thriving business. Through these practices of learning from and about other drummers, via various media, drummers gain a sense not only of how to play drums, but also how to be a drummer. Drummers like to play like the drummers they like, but also to *be drummers* like the drummers they like. As Bill Bruford recalls from his formative teenage years:

> I was going to be Max Roach. (Bruford, 2009: 35)

Matt, a teenage interviewee, says that:

> … the reason I practise so much is because of inspiration from the people I watch, like Buddy Rich, Vinnie Colaiuta, Bernard Purdie, Steve Gadd. They're amazing and I want to be *them,* so the reason I practise is to try and *be them*.

Luke, another teenager, says:

> My main influence in John Henry Bonham.

For all three of these drummers, it is not just a question of learning to play in a comparable way their idols; rather, there is an overt aspiration also to *be* like those drummers. Luke may appear from his comment to be less committed to becoming like Bonham, than his tribal brothers, but he proudly displays a tattoo on his forearm of John Bonham's symbol.[1]

It may appear at first that this active identity and learning realization is restricted to younger drummers, but Guy Richman, a seasoned professional, still derives inspiration from fellow drummers:

> Harvey Mason, man, he's just there, he's *there.* But that's the shit I grew up on – I grew up on all that.

While Mason began to affect Richman in his earlier formative years, Richman also recalls the profound influence that another drummer had on him slightly later on:

> … in my late teens I kind of got turned on to Steve Gadd for the first time, and that was like '*fuck* me!' Hahaha!

Guy is still inspired and excited by other great drummers today:

> Steve Jordan, Steve Jordan is my man of the moment… His groove is just immense, and his feel and his… humility and grace that goes into a song when he plays… James Taylor Live at the Beacon Theatre… Probably one of the best gigs you'll ever see. Steve Jordan on drums… That was like 'Fuck, I've got to watch that again! I've *got* to watch that again.'

**Contemporary learning realization**

Drummers' informal active learning realization is changing shape. In some interviews teenage drummers played me CDs, others played music from iPods, some played DVDs, and all interview participants (bar one who did not have internet access or wish for it) talked about using the internet as a learning resource. Matt explains why he finds the internet to be such a valuable resource:

> … you can search out people like Buddy Rich or Elvin Jones and they're there… It's a lot harder to go and get the CD. A lot of shops don't even stock that sort of stuff any more.

Luke explains more colourfully how the internet is useful to the student drummer:

> O, You Tube and My Space has changed absolutely everything! What I really love is when you find a song and you think 'this is mental' and I'll talk to my friends on the internet who'll be like 'I don't know that' and I'll send it to them and they'll send it to their mates, and it just opens, opens up all the gates, man. It's brilliant, it's, I couldn't… and finding out new musicians – especially You Tube; you just click on, er, Jojo Mayer into You Tube and think 'o, that's really good' and then into the little video section you'll see Jojo Mayer Drum Battle versus… Or you check out Tony Royston Junior – he's mental! I mean, have you seen that drum solo from when he's like eight or eleven or something stupid like that?! I mean, to be honest, he doesn't seem to have progressed, but he's *mad*, man! Yeah, he's all doong-ga-doong-ga-doong-ga… It's mad!

Mike Pickering, a professional drummer, also uses the internet as resource for watching his favourite drummers in action:

> … yeah, I love checking out Tony Williams on You Tube!

For Guy Richman:

> … the internet is basically the world's biggest encyclopaedia, its biggest tool of reference, and it helps me find things that I can buy cheaper without having to scour Oxford street for 5½ hours before even making a purchase.

The internet as a learning forum also serves further to blur lines between formal and informal learning practices. Chris describes how a formal lesson at his music college can become informalized post-facto at home:

> … say you have your lessons and you don't quite understand something and you just go on You Tube, type the teacher's name in and it'll come up with all his lessons on You Tube, or pretty much, you know, thereabouts.

You Tube is teeming with thousands of drummers offering free tuition to anyone who logs on to view their videos, by recognized teachers, institutions such as RockSchool and MusicRadar.com, and countless others. This internet teaching ranges from formalized courses

of lessons by recognized, 'name' professionals to ad hoc one-offs by drumming peers of all ages.

**Formal learning?**

Organizations such as RockSchool are responsible in other ways for blurring the lines between formal and informal means of active learning realization. RockSchool offers graded examinations in popular music performance, up to a Level 4 qualification (roughly equivalent to an Associate's Degree in the US). Formerly, much popular music learning would have been done in the ways described by Green (2002); now, the game has changed utterly, with the increased fuzzying of boundaries between[2] formal informal practices. Trinity College London now also offers an FTCL, a Level 7 (Master's Degree level) qualification in Drum Kit Recital. Bachelor's Degrees in popular music and popular music performance are commonplace at UK institutions such as the Institute of Contemporary Music Performance, DrumTech, Academy of Contemporary Music, Liverpool Institute of Performing Arts and various university departments. Indeed, the UK is not unique in being home to institutions offering qualifications of this sort.

The institutionalization of learning for drummers helps put paid to the remnant of truth that might once have existed in the joke:

> How do you confuse a drummer?
>
> Put a chart in front of him!'
> (www.drumjokes.com)

Indeed, Chris explains the depth of formal active learning realization into which drummers go when studying at a popular music college:

> It's really, really anal, really analytical, it's like, really, really stupidly like magnified technique stuff, and, er, which is awesome, no it's really, really good

> but it gets pretty full-on, like, you know – 'Crap! I'm thinking about *everything'*. It's down to a point where you're like robots. You go over everything in such detail.

Formal learning is not by any means a new phenomenon for drummers, as Guy recalls from his lessons in the 1970s:

> I studied with Eddie [Freeborn], and then I started going to a guy called Max Abrams… So I learnt with Max, then I went to Bob [Armstrong]. His real thing was the reading skills.

Some professional drummers, though, preferred not to take formal lessons. Steve recalls:

> I found it duff… 'cause he was literally 'right you play this for five or ten minutes' then he'd fuck off and go to another room where he had someone else.

Dave's intended formal learning experience left him a little disenfranchised with formal learning, instead giving him the passive learning realization that he is 'too old in the tooth to be taught.

**Passive learning realization**

Passive learning realization happens all the time in the learning environments. Steve explains how, when trying to learn a song with his bands, sometimes:

> … you get like 'o shit, *that's* how it works!

Guy realized that despite misgivings in his youth:

> … to go into this theory class and learn about harmony and stuff like that… it's paid every dividend off, that one, learning to do that.

Ranjit, meanwhile, learned that he has certain preferences for how he goes about his active learning realization:

> I prefer listening and playing. It's easier for me than reading from a book.

Geoff came to the realization that:

> … for how long I’ve been playing, I reckon I should be better than I am now.

Hopefully this new model of passive and active learning realization is a useful way to look at learning practices and experiences among drummers.

## Conclusions

Hegel describes the point from which passive and active identity realization (PAIR) and passive and active learning realization (PALR) begin: ‘at the outset, then, the nature of individuality in its original determinate form, its immediate essence, is not yet affirmed as active; and in this shape is called special capacity, talent, character, and so on’ (Hegel, 1910: 421). Human potential for identity realization and learning realization are both present from the very start of life. It is what happens from after this that shapes drummers’ and others’ identities, as Durrant writes:

> … abilities are learned and elaborated only if the people, places, things, and events in our surroundings support that learning. Our experiences, therefore, determine the extent to which our human capabilities will be converted into increasingly refined abilities. (Durrant, 2003: 13)

This paper began with an iteration of Green’s assertion that ‘identity… (is) ‘intrinsically and unavoidably connected to particular ways of learning’ (Green, 2002: 216). This statement is endorsed by the literature and by the evidence submitted in this paper: learning and identity are inexorably and intimately linked. Learning to play drums is learning to be a drummer; wishing to become a drummer inevitably requires learning to play the instrument.

In terms of the new model of the Snowball Self, the symbiosis of learning and identity can be seen to work in the following ways:

1) Passive identity realization requires, or is, a moment of discovery, of learning

2) Active identity realization requires learning to take place in order that identities can be realized

3) Passive learning realization is an inevitable by-product of active identity realization

4) Active learning realization leads to passive identity realization

5) Active identity realization and active learning realization can lead to passive identity realization and passive learning realization.

6) Passive identity realization and passive learning realization can lead to active identity realization and active learning realization.

Recalling Waterman (1992, ibid), the eudaimonic understanding of identity construction – that is, with passive and active identity realization operating in symbiosis – can as easily serve to help illuminate the reciprocal processes occurring between passive and active learning realization, as well as between each aspect of PAIR and PALR.

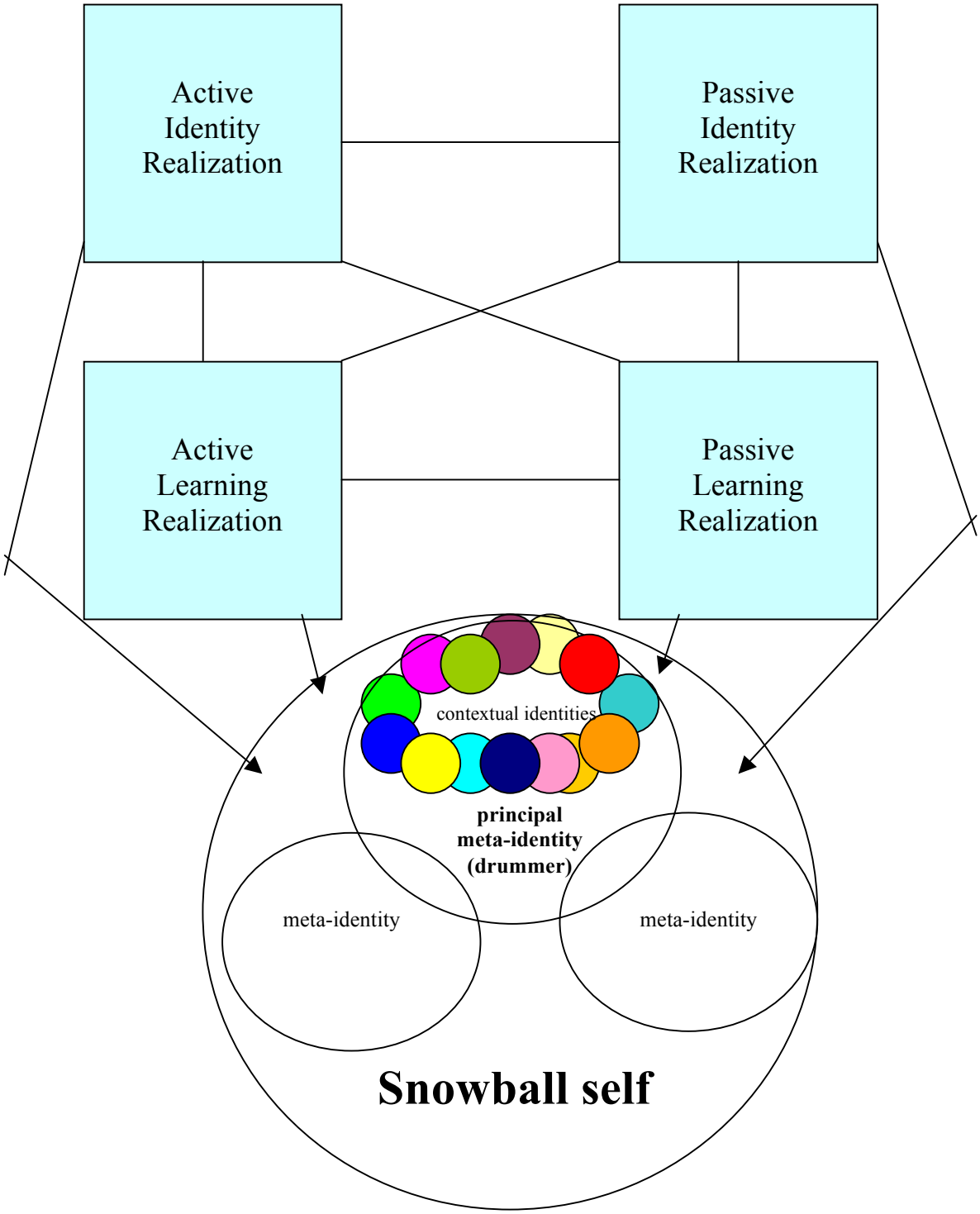
In shaping their meta-identities as drummers, drummers realize contextual identities and learning in ways described above. Data from the questionnaires have not yet been fully analyzed, although initial analysis indicates broad replication of many of the interview data. While data from the two age groups were analyzed separately, experiences of identity and learning do not appear to be clearly differentiated along lines of age. The only exception to

this would be that contexts of identity and learning realization for teenagers take place more often in contexts intended specifically for learning, whereas the contexts for professionals’ identity and learning realization are more practice-based. As this research suggests, however, identity and learning may be intimately intertwined in ways not previously proposed.

So, ‘I drum, therefore I am’? The issue of identity may be far simpler than I have suggested – problematizing things is the sociologist’s habit. The complexities of theorizing identity may be solved by the eloquent words of drummer Bill Bruford:

> You could call yourself what you liked, but it didn’t mean anything until it was written in your passport. (Bruford, 2009: 38)

Figure 1: Snowball Self, showing passive and active identity realization, passive and active learning realization, principal meta-identity, meta-identities, and contextual identities



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**Endnotes**

[1] John Bonham played drums for the rock band Led Zeppelin. On the sleeve for the band’s fourth album (unnamed, but known to fans as *Four Symbols*) and subsequently, each member of the band adopted a symbol to represent them. Bonham’s was three interconnected circles, often depicted on the skin of his bass drum.

# Turntablism: A Vehicle for Connecting Community and School Music Learning

KAREN SNELL

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*Abstract*

Over the past several years in particular, music education scholars have been calling for better connections between community and school music making (e.g., Jones, 2005; Veblen, 2005). Furthermore, researchers are beginning to recognize the informal learning processes of musicians in settings outside of schools for their potential to inform ways music is taught and learned inside school music classrooms (e.g., Green, 2002, 2006). However, music educators continue to struggle with successful ways to bring 'outside' music making and learning processes 'inside' school walls. This chapter will look at 'turntablism' as a relatively new and unexplored area for teaching and learning music in schools. The author's participation in a week-long turntablism course in Toronto, Canada and her observations of a turntablism class being currently taught at Berklee College of Music in Boston will serve as springboards to discuss how turntablism is an excellent way to improve students' overall musicianship through beat matching, pitch-awareness, the development of sensitivity to a variety of musical styles, and improvisation. Perhaps most importantly, turntablism can be especially appealing to students because they are making music in ways they find interesting and relevant.

**Why turntablism?**

Over the past several years in particular, scholars in music education have been calling for better connections between community and school music-making (e.g., Jones, 2005; Veblen, 2005). Furthermore, pioneered especially by the work of Lucy Green, music educators are beginning to recognize the potential value of the informal learning processes of musicians in settings outside of institutional contexts to help inform the ways music is taught and learned in schools (e.g., Green, 2002, 2006). However, music educators continue to struggle with concrete suggestions/successful ways to bring 'outside' music making and learning processes 'inside' the school walls. This paper will look at 'turntablism' (i.e., using record turntables for making music by actively spinning, scratching, beat matching, etc.) as a relatively new and unexplored area for teaching and learning music in schools and as one way of making effective connections between music in society and music in schools.

Although turntablism is something that has been researched and written about academically over the last several years, the bulk of this research has been in popular music studies (e.g., Souvignier, 2003; Schloss, 2004; Shiu, 2007; Fairchild, 2007) and musicology/ethnomusicology/sociology (e.g., Riddell, 2001; Waxer, 2001; Neill, 2002). There are a few notable dissertations about the use of turntablism in educational settings. However, none of these look at the possible benefits of turntablism in classroom music teaching directly. Gustavson's (2004) study is oriented towards the cross-curricular implications of hip-hop culture more generally including written language and graffiti art as well as turntablism. Pasagiannis' (2007) research highlights the benefits of teaching turntablism to 'at risk' youth, but his dissertation is in psychology rather than education and thus focuses on the therapeutic and psychological benefits of this kind of music making rather than on 'musical' or 'educational' benefits.

This current paper will contribute to filling this void in research by looking at the potential musical and educational value of including turntablism in school music programmes. Because turntablism is rarely if ever currently an integral part of public school music programmes, the research for this paper took place in two, less traditional, but nonetheless 'formal' educational settings. The learning processes of practicing DJs/turntablists in the community-at-large were not explored directly for this paper. Though these kinds of observations would undoubtedly provide further information into the typical, 'informal' learning practices of successful turntablists, fairly in-depth observations about these processes can be gleaned already through the informative ethnography by Schloss (2004), who looked into the world of producer/DJ culture in several U.S. cities. These ideas by Scholss and others into the learning practices of DJs and turntablists outside formal educational contexts will be considered alongside the current research into the use of turntablism in more formal educational settings with the hopes that one can inform the other. The bulk of the considerations for this paper, however, come from the observations and participation of the author with turntablism in two different formal educational settings. Through the process of considering how turntablism has been successfully integrated into these two different settings, a number of common themes emerged about the ways turntablism can be successfully taught, the kinds of musical knowledge and skills it will typically elicit, and the benefits for the student-participants. In considering these themes, it is hoped that music educators will begin to see that there are indeed successful ways to bring 'outside' music making and learning processes 'inside' the walls of formal educational institutions and that turntablism in particular has the potential to provide a new and exciting way to make these connections.

Upon completion of the research, it became clear that turntablism has real potential to serve not only as an effective vehicle for teaching music in these two particular educational settings, but also as something that has the promise to make clear connections for students

between the music they listen to and enjoy outside of school with the music they are making and learning about in school music programmes. The participation in and observation of these three different turntablism classes demonstrated in particular that turntablism is an excellent way to improve students' overall musicianship through beat matching, pitch-awareness, the development of sensitivity to a variety of musical styles, and improvisation. Perhaps most importantly, it became clear that turntablism is especially appealing to students because they are making music in ways they find interesting, challenging and relevant to their lives outside the music classroom.

*1st Setting:*

The first setting was in 'the Urban Music Department' at The Royal Conservatory of Music (RCM) in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. The five, three-hour classes took place every night over one week in March, 2008, from 6 through 9 p.m. The researcher took part in this class as an active class participant, directly engaging with tunrtablism for the first time. The course in question was entitled 'DJ Fundamentals: Scratch from Scratch', which explored the basics of turntablism through the art of mixing, scratching, beat matching, etc. This class was for beginners with no prior experience in this or other areas of music making required. It was taught by Toronto DJ, Omar Barcklay – DJ T.R.A.C.K.S., Juno Award and Urban Music Awards of Canada nominee, and one of three founding DJs in Toronto-based Trilogy Sound Crew who has collaborated with well-known Canadian artists including Kardinall Offishall, Choclair and Jully Black. It is interesting to note that the RCM has an 'Urban Music Department' at all given its historical orientation towards traditional, private or small group lessons and music exams in Western art music. However, this particular department in the RCM has only three courses currently offered; the other two are 'Beats from Scratch - the next step for DJs who want to create tracks' and 'Rock the Mic: Hip-Hop Workshop - the

program for developing as a hip-hop songwriter and MC.' In contrast, the RCM's 'regular' classes number well over one hundred, almost all of which are in Western art music.[1]

The five sessions for this course took place in the Royal Conservatory of Music school in a classroom. The particular classroom used for the turntablism course was structurally quite similar to many typical high school band or choral rooms with five levels of rises where the students worked, a blackboard and teacher table at the front of the room facing out to the students, and cupboards and shelves for storage of equipment along the sides of the room. The classroom was set up with five or six student stations on each riser level and a teacher station at the front of the room facing the students. Each student station had two turntables and a mixer between them; headphones were also provided for each student. The teacher station was similar in set up, though it also had a larger mixing board, enabling the teacher to control what he listened to and what the students could hear. The teacher's equipment was also connected to the sound system in the classroom so that his demonstrations could be heard by the whole class. Clearly, based on the fact that this class took place in a room that is set up quite similarly to many more traditional band, orchestral or choral rooms, making a transition to include turntablism classes in typical middle or high-schools would very likely require only the purchase of equipment rather than any serious physical restructuring of classrooms.

*2nd Setting:*

The second setting was at The Berklee College of Music in Boston, Massachusetts. Both classes were observed by the researcher in the same room location; the researcher did not participate actively in music-making in this setting. It was a smaller-sized room than the larger, high school-sized classroom at RCM in Toronto. Perhaps half the size of a typical high-school music room, this class was more cramped, but still had enough space for the one teacher and ten student workstations. The equipment for this class was stored in a back area

and wheeled out at the start of each class. The student workstations were all on a large cart, which was quite easily rolled out and connected to the pre-existing classroom wiring system. Each student station had two turntables, a mixer and headphones. The students faced into the center of the classroom with five on each side of the large workstation area. The teacher's station was at the front of the class facing the students' area and was similar to the students' workstations in terms of set up, though it also included a large mixing board to control the class as a whole and had some additional equipment such as specialized CD turntables for demonstration purposes. The teacher station was also stored in back and rolled out at the start of class. These kinds of portable teacher and student workstations have real potential for high-school or middle school music teaching as they could provide opportunities for classes to be held in any classroom in the school or even in other locations such as auditoriums or cafeterias. Moreover, this kind of portable/mobile music classroom is a much more reasonable proposal for this particular kind of music class in turntablism in terms of noise that might potentially disturb neighboring classrooms given the nature of turntablism with its use of headphones and the teacher's ability to control volume from his or her mixing board. Furthermore, the ability to easily store and lock away the roll-carts of equipment could potentially contribute to longer-lasting and better-maintained equipment.

The course observed at Berklee was called 'Turntable Techniques', which is described on the school's website as follows:

> Students will develop basic skills using the turntable both as a means of live expression and performance and as a production tool. Weekly hands-on exercises will be emphasized. The course traces the historical development of the turntable from its origins in Jamaican music through its importance as a major expression of hip-hop culture, and to the turntable's prominence in contemporary music. Artistic, ethical, and legal issues surrounding the use of the turntable will be examined. For students with little or no prior experience.[2]

Two different sections of this class were observed for the current paper, each of which was taught by different people and to different groups of students. The first class was observed in the fall of 2008 and was taught by the course developer and turntable specialist at Berklee, Stephen Webber. Webber (2009b) began advocating for turntable courses to be taught at Berklee College in 2000. Although Berklee is known as a progressive school, especially in styles of jazz and popular music, it still took Webber several years to convince his colleagues at Berklee that it was a viable course which would be both popular with students and a valuable addition to their musical training (Endelmen, 2003). It is interesting to note that since its inception, it has become increasingly popular, running two or three section each semester, with forty or fifty students on a waiting list. Webber (2009b) states that they could easily fill five to ten section of the course each semester; but in order to do this, they would require a dedicated lab, something they are in the process of trying to acquire.

The second observation at Berklee took place in April, 2009, and was taught by Brian (a.k.a. 'Raydar') Ellis, Webber's 'talented protégé' (Webber, 2009a). The classroom location and set-up were exactly the same as during the first section observed. The basic structure of the course, including the textbooks and method books used (both written by Webber) were the same in each of these two classes at Berklee.

**Common Themes in Turntablism's Contributions to Students' Overall Musicianship**

When analyzing the observation, field and class notes taken in each of these two settings, four main themes emerged as commonalities to how turntablism was successfully taught in each of these classes. Each of these four themes illustrates the kinds of musical knowledge turntablism most clearly elicited in these particular settings, successful teaching methods and strategies employed by the three teachers in these classes, and the benefits to the student-

participants in both settings. It is hoped that, in outlining these themes, music educators in public schools might better understand the potential benefits of teaching turntablism as well as possible directions they can take if they wish to undertake this kind of music instruction.

*Beat matching:*

One of the first things students learned in each of the classes discussed herein was beat matching. This is an essential and fundamental skill in turntablism and something that is required of students before moving on to more complex tasks. Essentially, this skill involves matching the beats per minute (BPM) of one record precisely with that of another. This can be done between two records on the students' own two turntables, or by the students using one of their own records matched to a recording being played by the teacher over the classroom sound system.

In order to execute this skill, an understanding of basic rhythm and meter is essential. It is most often not possible to match the BPMs of two records in different meters. Moreover, being able to aurally identify where the downbeats within each piece of music fall is crucial in executing this skill because the record being matched to the one already playing must be released on the downbeat in order for the beats to line up properly as they play together. As an experienced musician, while learning to beat match myself, the concepts of meter and rhythm were not things I had to spend a lot of time on. The same can be said of the students at Berklee, all of who were specialists on other instruments. However, for the other students in the RCM class, some of whom had little or no formal musical training in their backgrounds, mastering the skill of beat matching provided them with a clear and concrete way to learn the basics of meter and rhythm including the concepts of time signatures and note values.

Moreover, having to identify these meters and rhythmic values right away by ear reinforced the theoretical concepts just taught in a concrete way through active music making

(something I have often found lacking in the ways theory is typically taught in many traditional band or orchestral programmes, where students often learn theoretical concepts divorced from their actual sound in real pieces of music). As well, no matter their musical background, it seemed clear to me that all students benefitted from the aural acuity gained from having to adjust one record's speed to match the other's using the fine tuning knobs on their turntables. This is something that I observed required students to be fully involved in active listening to the music at hand (or, what Green [2002, pp. 23-24] calls 'purposive listening'). Ear training was also furthered by having to find the downbeat on recordings. Students located the downbeat of their second record using their headphones and then held the record in this location moving it back and forth with their hand before releasing it in time on the downbeat of the other recording already playing. This step not only required students to have good knowledge of meter and rhythm, and accuracy in locating the downbeat by ear on both recordings, it also involved their eyes in terms of pin-pointing the location on the record groove where the downbeat they've chosen begins and their whole body in terms of feeling the rhythm and moving the record back and forth in time.

Finally, executing the physical release of the record in order for the two recordings to play at the same time was a fun and exciting task for all students. Releasing the record too quickly or with too much force would cause the record to skip ahead or speed up enough during the initial release to throw off the carefully matched tempos. Likewise, releasing too slowly without enough forward motion in the hand on the record would cause a lag in the tempo of the second recording. In all classes, it was common to look around the room and see students moving to the beat of the first record as they moved their second record back and forth in time with their hand. Releasing the record at exactly the right time and with the proper force so that the two recordings would play together was a skill that took practice. During these classes, it was common to observe students, after having released their record,

noticing a slight derivation between the speeds, thus causing them to stop, re-adjust and try again. Each of these steps and processes involved in beat matching are noted by Schloss (2004), Souvignier (2003), Webber (2003) and others in interviews with practicing DJ/turntablists.[3] In short, the process of learning and perfecting the steps for beat matching are excellent ways of internalizing the concepts of meter and rhythm through active, embodied music making.

*Pitch awareness:*

It became evident in each of the three turntablism classes researched for this paper that pitch awareness is part and parcel of learning to beat match. As students in these classes experimented with the fine-tuning knobs on their record players in order to adjust BPMs for beat matching, they came to realize that slower speeds lowered the pitch and faster speeds raised the pitch of a given song. This awareness is something I noted students expressed on their own without prompting from the teacher in the RCM class. Perhaps this is at least in part because students were working primarily with music they enjoyed listening to regularly outside of class. The popular music recordings used in class were primarily music from what would be classified as hip-hop (likely the most common musical genre used in turntablism) and students were very familiar with this music. Thus, they were likely more aware of slight changes in pitch for these songs than they might have been for music with which they had less experience.

As this sensitivity to pitch increased, so too did the students' decision-making skills around the styles of music and songs they wanted to mix together. For instance, two songs with similar and/or prominent bass lines were popular choices for beat matching because the pitches of the two songs were often either similar or complementary. Likewise, students would often take into account the vocal range of singers on two given tracks in order to pick

songs with either quite similar or sometimes contrasting vocal stylings (depending on the effect they were looking for). In short, aural awareness to pitch was clearly something that developed along-side knowledge about meter and rhythm as students progressed through these early stages of skill-development in turntablism.

*The Development of Sensitivity to a Variety of Musical Styles and How They Inter-relate:*

Spiraling out of both beat matching and pitch awareness, the students in each of the classes developed knowledge of and sensitivity toward a variety of musical styles and sub-genres. Searching for rare and exciting recordings is something that has accompanied hip-hop and DJ culture from its inception. In fact, because hip-hop is, by definition, a musical genre that combines sounds from previous recordings through sampling and mixing techniques, seeking out new and interesting sounds from a variety of musical sub-genres and styles is a natural part of learning the art of turntablism. As Schloss (2004, p. 19) points out in citing a well-respected DJ named Mr. Supreme, "If you really are truly into hip-hop, how can you not listen to anything else? Because it comes from everything else . . . you are listening to everything else." Afrika Bambaataa, for instance, a founding and influential DJ/turntablist, was known as 'Master of Records' because, as Souvignier (2003, p. 132) points out, of his great knowledge of rare and exciting musicians and recordings in "funk, rock, and Latin, but also reggae, calypso, new wave, and European electronic sounds. His large, diverse record collection was accompanied by a vast, authoritative musical knowledge." In short, it is no accident that Jamaicans call DJs 'selectors', as a large part of this culture revolves around seeking out and making selections among the myriad popular music sub-genres and related styles and then picking samples within these recordings to combine with others during active music making.

Because Afrika Bambaataa, Mr. Supreme and others are the artists young people are striving to imitate when learning to turntable, seeking out interesting and eclectic recordings to use when teaching turntablism in school music is something teachers can easily take advantage of. Broadening students' musical horizons to include a variety of popular and other musics within turntablism courses in school would not only deepen and expand the kinds of music they can make when actively engaged in turntablism itself, it would also quite likely encourage them to seek out new and exciting musics on their own as they develop into more discriminating and well-informed music listeners and appreciators.

*Improvisation:*

The final theme I wish to highlight in this paper as something I saw emerge in each of the three classes, is the fact that turntablism provides an excellent opportunity to teach music with a focus on improvisation. All three classes used improvisation regularly as a way to reinforce new skills and for experimenting with longer musical statements, both as a full class and individually. For instance, in both Berklee classes, I observed a regular progression to full class improvisations each day. To begin, the instructor demonstrated a new scratch technique, often using the cross fader along with manipulation of the vinyl album in different ways (e.g., 'the crab'[4]). Students gathered around to see the teacher demonstrate the new skill. Then, they were given some time to work on what they had observed at their own stations, using their headphones so that all students could practice at the same time without disturbing one another. During this time, the teacher tuned in to each student through his headphones to listen to their progress and guide them through any difficulties.

Next, the whole class worked on the new skill together with a backing track played over the classroom sound system. The teacher played a one or two bar pattern employing the new skill and then the students echoed what they had heard; this was done a number of times

with a variety of different rhythmic patterns in order to give students ample time to become comfortable using the new skill. Finally, the class moved into full improvisations using the new skill. For this, the teacher again played a backing track over the classroom sound system. Then, he began the exercise by taking a turn improvising a two-bar scratch sequence, employing the new skill in combination with past skills as he saw fit. This group improvisation continued with each student taking his or her own turn creating a unique, two bar scratch sequence as the role of soloist moved clockwise around the room in time. This exercise could be repeated any number of times with different length solos, a focus on more than one skill, two students playing together alternating one bar each for a total of several bars, etc.

These types of improvisation exercises were used regularly in all three classes observed for this paper. These activities were not only excellent ways of reinforcing new skills learned each day, they also served to strengthen students' grasp of meter and rhythm; reinforced their listening skills as they were required to not only come in directly after the previous person in time, but to link their improvised ideas in some way to the soloists who performed before them; and, of course, provided a creative outlet for the creation of new and interesting sounds and patterns.

Individual improvisations were also used as assignments for students in the Berklee classes as pupils were required to record improvisations of a certain length, highlighting their ability with specific skills as part of their final exam for the course. Smaller group or partner exercises similar to those described above would also not be difficult to incorporate in turntablism classes. Finally, when reviewing other research on the informal learning practices of DJs and turntablists outside these formal educational settings, it became clear that improvisation forms the basis of their music making. In short, improvisation is a fundamental

skill in turntablism for DJs in the community-at-large and has been successfully included in these three turntablism classes in more formal settings as well.

*Concluding thoughts:*

In conclusion, although this research provides only an initial glance into the potential of turntablism as a vehicle for teaching music in formal educational settings and further investigation, particularly into the use of turntablism in public school settings is warranted, several initial observations and cautious generalizations can be made.

Turntablism is something that has the potential to teach students musical fundamentals such as meter, rhythm and pitch through active, hands-on music making. It is also an ideal vehicle for teaching young people about myriad popular musics and related genres, highlighting how styles and sub-genres are inter-connected; this could certainly be expanded to include historical study of hip-hop and other popular music genres and practices in meaningful, contextualized ways. Turntablism involves creative, active music making through extensive use of improvisation. Ease and comfort with improvisation could potentially lead to more experimentation and risk-taking in this and other kinds of music making situations. Cross-curricular connections, although not highlighted in the current study, could certainly be made when teaching turntablism given its clear focus on technology and computer skills, and hip-hop's obvious connections to graffiti art, dance, and poetry.

Finally, as a student (2009) in one of the Berklee classes noted to me after one of the classes I observed: "Turntablism would be amazing to include in middle or high school music. Not only is it a challenging and fantastic way to learn music, I've found that it really boosts my self-esteem. I think this is because I'm learning to make music that my friends and I enjoy listening to and dancing to outside of school. I can relate to what I'm doing in such a

clear way that it makes me excited to learn more and motivates me to practice so that I can keep getting better."

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[3] See, for example, Webber's (2008, p. 224) explanation of the fundamental need for all DJs to learn beat matching before moving on to extending breaks and beat juggling.

[4] For further explanation of this technique, see Webber (2008, pp. 274-275).

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# ‘You start to know what they’re thinking’: The Social Construction of Knowledge in a Collaborative Teacher Study Group

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*Abstract*

The purpose of this social constructivist inquiry was to examine views of collaboration in elementary music education held and co-constructed by three elementary music teachers and the researcher in a collaborative teacher study group (CTSG). The research question was: What can these music teachers tell other music educators about student collaboration? The CTSG met seven times to analyze video from each participant’s classroom for aspects of collaboration. Using meeting transcripts, the researcher investigated how CTSG members identified and described collaboration in elementary music. The evolution of the group’s socially constructed definitions of collaboration was traced and documented. Three principles of collaboration were distilled from the definitions: (a) Collaboration facilitates student self-expression and independence; (b) Students who are collaborating share goals. The teacher allows space for, or guides students in creating, productive student-student interactions; and (c) A teacher collaborating with her students facilitates their movement toward a shared goal. Teacher provides necessary background skills, creates student buy-in for the goal, and then fades away to allow students to take ownership.

## What Is Collaboration in Elementary Music Education? A Social Constructivist Inquiry Within a Collaborative Teacher Study Group

I'd like to start by asking you to remember one of your most powerful and/or enjoyable music making experiences. I have found when I ask this, often people will cite what I would call collaborative experiences. These are situations that not only include others, but are *reliant* on other musicians around them: powerful, memorable experiences that have aspects of the sharing and communication that is so special and particular to music.

I have never had anyone, in answer to this question, describe a completely solo situation. This is not to diminish the power of making music for and by yourself, but rather to focus our thinking today on the importance of music-making in collaboration with others. A great musical collaborator, Cellist David Soyer of the Guarneri quartet, described it this way:

> Our way of ensemble playing is not that someone leads and everyone else just follows…but in fact, everyone feels it at the same time; everyone is thinking toward a central point: the start of a piece, a *ritardando*, or whatever it may be. We don't follow each other; we play together (Blum, 1986, p.15).

These notions—playing together, feeling something at the same time, thinking towards a central point together—imply a rich non-verbal, yet highly self-expressive, musical communication. When I taught elementary music and thought I saw my using students music in this sort of non-verbal, expressive communication with others, I often saw that as a happy accident. I didn't think I taught it, but I knew I wanted to provide opportunities for it to happen more often. I know many elementary teachers who likewise want their students to collaborate in meaningful musical ways: to have experiences like musicians in an a capella choir, a jazz quintet or symphony orchestra, but in a way developmentally appropriate for elementary music school. So I decided to research collaboration, and its meaning for music educators.

## Purpose and Research Question

The purpose of this social constructivist inquiry was to examine views of collaboration in elementary music education held and jointly co-constructed by three elementary music teachers and the researcher in a collaborative teacher study group (CTSG). A larger study investigated other aspects of participants' experience in the CTSG[12], but the research question discussed in this paper is: What can these music teachers tell other music educators about student collaboration?

### *Definitions and Past Research*

Collaboration is a word with widely varying usage in educational literature, as it has been examined in many ways for different purposes. Researchers have studied collaboration from cognitive, socio-affective, and pedagogical perspectives. One approach has been to try to isolate variables affecting the nature of collaboration: for example, the number collaborating, their expertise, social factors, and type of task. Researchers have also studied how to harness collaboration as a powerful learning mechanism for students (c.f. Luce, 2001, for a review).

I searched for a broad, research-based definition of collaboration that could envelop ideas of "making music together" as in the David Soyer quote, and in the classroom setting. In Roschelle &Teasley's (1995) study of students learning together, I found a good one to background the work of this study: "[c]ollaboration is a process by which individuals negotiate and share meanings relevant to the problem-solving task at hand…a coordinated, synchronous activity that is the result of a continued attempt to construct and maintain a shared conception" (p. 70).

I think collaboration is negotiated, and I like imagining the ways students might find to share meaning of a piece. I like the idea of students constructing and reconstructing a shared

concept of a piece of music. I feel the words "coordinated, synchronous" intimate feeling and thinking together, musically. In addition to Roschelle and Teasley's work, my study draws upon a foundation of others' work: researchers who have established that children working together may personally enact musical thinking, independence, and self-expression.

*Collaboration In Music Education Research*

Music education researchers have examined the role and function of collaboration in many musical contexts to better understand the nature of collaborative interaction in learning music. Recent research has documented the value of classroom musical collaboration. Wiggins (1994, 2000) studied collaborative problem solving in group improvisation and composition, which she found resulted in a shared understanding of musical concepts as well as empowered musical thinking in the group and individuals. Younker and Burnard (2004, 2008) analyzed small group interaction in collaborative composing and arranging. Other studies detail how collaborative processes stimulate creative and critical thinking in compositional problem-solving (e.g., DeLorenzo, 1989; Dillon, 2003).

Researchers cite positive benefits of collaboration in small group music-making. For example, mutual learning communities may foster student creativity (Claire, 1993/1994). Allsup's (2003) work, while primarily focused on out-of-school volunteer ensembles, suggested that mutual learning communities fostered caring relationships, peer learning, and yielded a view of music education as democratic and inclusive. Davidson and Good (2002) studied social, cultural, and emotional factors in a college quartet's collaboration, and Berg (1997) stated that members of coached high school chamber ensembles "challenged each other to work at a higher developmental level by requiring peers to clarify, elaborate on, or justify a problem solution" (p. iv).

Collaboration does not necessarily entail working in small groups. Entire classes can be guided in collaborative endeavors; from a social constructivist perspective, it is the interactivity and negotiation in these whole-group interactions that stimulates students' higher-order thinking (Dillenbourg, 1999; Palincsar, 1998). St. John's (2006) study was an examination of how preschool children collaborate. She defined collaboration as "collective musical engagement" and found examples of it in music-making groups of all sizes. Social aspects of the classroom played a crucial role in how these children seemed to learn music: "[i]deas traveled around the community of learners culminating in a rich quality of experience that was the result of many contributed efforts" (p. 252). King (2004) created an ensemble rehearsal framework using collaboration as a central component, as performers take leadership to negotiate their own technical and interpretive ideas. Hoffman (1991) was positive on aspects of collaboration in a computer-aided music theory class, citing evidence of shared understanding in a lively atmosphere that contrasted with passive attitudes of non-collaborating students.

## The Study

Collaboration would seem to be a natural and valuable element of any group of students making music together. But music teachers may not have a clear picture of exactly what it is, and may wonder if it is possible, or necessary, to teach or encourage collaboration. The characteristics of collaboration overlap those of other pedagogical schools of thought: constructivism, active learning, student-centered learning, project-based learning, and communities of learners. This ambiguity, and the many images the term collaboration evokes, makes it an unwieldy yet fruitful area of inquiry. To help further define collaboration in the elementary music classroom, I took a sociocultural approach to studying this sociocultural phenomenon.

*Methodology*

Patton (2002) defines social constructivist inquiry as research with "the emphasis on the socially constructed nature of reality" (p. 99). I was primarily interested in participant's beliefs and viewpoints as they emerged and evolved within the group. A social constructivist stance helped me understand the mediated reality—"what is collaboration in elementary music?"—co-constructed by each member and held in common by the group.

*Sampling*

The collaborative teacher study group (CTSG) was a group of three elementary school music educators and me, a general music education professor. Participants were chosen by intensity sampling, or choosing "information-rich cases—cases from which one can learn a great deal about matters of importance and therefore worthy of in-depth study" (Patton, 2002). Patton notes that intensity sampling does not use extreme cases, but rather "excellent or rich examples…not highly unusual cases" (p. 234). I identified three teachers, Marlene, Andrea, and Karly (pseudonyms) in [STATE] who were willing to participate. They might be considered atypical only because they wanted to add CTSG meetings to their busy schedules. They are not unusual cases in any other sense. Their outlooks and commentary provide an informative, and I believe characteristic, look at elementary music. My actions and perceptions as CTSG facilitator are also part of the study.

The participants have different backgrounds and assignments. Marlene has Orff-Schulwerk training and a master's degree with a Kodàly emphasis. She has taught for twelve years in districts in other states and her native Puerto Rico, but this was her first year teaching in a large urban district. She travels to three elementary schools weekly and teaches from a cart. Andrea is a third-year teacher who teachers at one K-5 school in a wealthy suburban

district with a very homogenous population. She has taken one level of Orff-Schulwerk and has a master's degree in music education. Karly is also a third-year teacher with a master's degree. She often emphasizes tonal and rhythmic audiation according to Music Learning Theory (Gordon, 1997). She teaches ten classes per day in her inner suburban school, all second grade and younger. Many of her students are English language learners or have Individual Education Plans (IEPs).

*The Collaborative Teacher Study Group*

The CTSG had seven weekly two-hour meetings, after school on Thursdays. Our work was structured according to my adaptation of a protocol) from *The facilitator's book of questions: Tools for looking together at student and teacher work* (Allen & Blythe, 2003). At each meeting one teacher presented about 10-20 minutes of unedited video from her classroom for us to watch and discuss. We took turns hosting meetings in our homes, and leading discussion. Our protocol called for describing, analyzing, and speculating on evidence of collaboration in students at work in an elementary music class. Following the protocol kept us objective and focused on video evidence, yet allowed us to find many "a-ha!" moments. From the beginning, CTSG members were conscious of two dimensions of this study: we were collaborating in a teacher study group to talk about collaboration in the classroom. Their knowledge that this study focused on collaboration was the only criteria guiding them in their choice of what video to bring.

*Sources of data*

I used video transcripts and CTSG meeting artifacts as data sources. I recorded all seven meetings on digital video, which was then transcribed verbatim. As I coded data from the transcripts, artifacts such as notes we wrote on protocols and chart paper were used to confirm

words or statements. I interviewed each participant privately in two, semi-structured interviews before and during the course of the CTSG.

**Data Analysis**

The researcher in social constructivist inquiry is best described as a "passionate participant…a facilitator of multivoice reconstruction" (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 196): one who seeks "individual or collective reconstructions coalescing around consensus" (p. 194). A social constructivist inquiry allowed me to participate in the group, recognize social aspects of our learning, analyze how meanings might be constructed and appropriated within the group, and then reconstruct multiple voices into an overview of our consensus on collaboration.

The challenge in research from this perspective is how to study the language and artifacts from the CTSG in a way that lets me claim that I actually understand what this experience was like for the teachers and what, if anything, was socially constructed and unique within our group. I present the findings here balanced between themes in common and individual perspectives. They are all connected with my own interpretations and conclusions. I try to make it clear what's coming from me as "passionate participant", and what's reconstructed from the participant voice.

I combed the data for evidence allowing me to trace, chronologically and thematically, definitions of collaboration as socially constructed by the CTSG. Our group's understanding of collaboration was an evolutionary process, as the definitions converged and diverged over the course of our meetings. I looked for consensus and disagreement throughout in how Marlene, Andrea, Karly, and I described student collaboration. Analyzing meeting transcripts, I searched for social creation and exchange of knowledge within the CTSG by examining which attitudes and words changed or stayed the same between meetings. I talked with the

participants about my interpretations of what we learned in the CTSG meetings, and we agreed that we ended up with a shared understanding about collaboration.

The following quote from Karly illustrates the nature of coming to know and share understandings within a social constructivist framework like a collaborative teacher study group: 'You pick up on nuances about people, and you start to know what they're thinking and things like that. And that's when you can really be honest and start getting to the nitty gritty' (Karly, Interview Two).

## Findings

In the following sections, I describe the emergence of our socially constructed definition of collaboration in CTSG meetings one, two, and three and provide a figure that summarizes how the definitions continued to evolve in subsequent meetings. I then explain our three principles of collaboration.

### *Meetings One and Two*

For meeting one, Karly brought video of students creating a class arrangement of a tune. The main theme of our talk was how students can collaborate with their teacher. First, we saw groups working with Karly on solo improvisation and bass line singing. The rest had freedom to make up other parts vocally or on instruments. Karly asked groups and individuals open-ended questions to guide or refocus their work. We saw an atmosphere of creativity: children freely experimented with ideas, and sang improvisations to Karly and each other. They were not self-conscious. All around the room kids were experimenting in a noisy atmosphere, free from criticism. Karly was not an evaluator but rather a co-worker in the arrangement process. It was not a free-for-all, however: on video we observed Karly telling them they all have jobs, and her job is to help all their ideas come together and be organized.

We saw Karly helping each child find opportunities to express themselves musically. For instance, we noticed that she had students sing the bass line while others improvised. This resulted in a shakier rendition than if Karly had played the bass line on the piano for the improvisers. We identified this as a strategy to keep every child 'speaking up' musically. Andrea said, 'If you're talking about collaboration, that's pretty neat. Some teachers wouldn't have a problem with kids waiting quietly during the solos, but she wants everyone to speak up, to stay musically involved'.

After helping students hone very specific skills, then guiding them in creative use of those skills, Karly faded away, and ceded some power to students in the final product. At the CTSG meeting, we noticed Karly's lack of intervention in the final arrangement; Marlene said, 'You can't even tell she's there half the time!'

At our second meeting, we watched Andrea's video: students working on a rhythmic canon. Andrea created, assigned & taught the parts. Instead of the minimal teacher presence Karly represented, Andrea actively directed the group toward an end product. We said in this collaboration, the teacher's role is to keep the class going in a clear direction toward a goal shared by all. Andrea said:

> They want to get to the next step, and you wanted to know how I got them excited to get to that next level? It's how I present it… I can get them excited, and they want those challenges, they want to make each time through better and they know I can help them do it, and then they say, 'Can we try something else? Harder?'

We saw students reflecting on their own behavior, and sharing their ideas with others in order to answer Andrea's questions like, 'What are you thinking of to help you stay with the group?' The class seemed driven to achieve "the perfect ending," and we saw an atmosphere of friendly helpfulness among the students to get there. Marlene said that was the strongest aspect of collaboration in the video: the caring way the students listened to and built upon one another's ideas.

I said I had learned from this video that a classroom could still be collaborative even if the teacher creates the arrangement, and is actively directing the students. This was a change in my conception from meeting one. I left meeting one feeling students collaborate best when directions from the teacher are minimized and students create their own parts. But this was something different. Karly described it:

> If you foster musicality in your classroom, if your end goal is something really beautiful and musical, then you're probably using collaboration, and the kids are naturally collaborating. I just think it's so cool that [in Andrea's video] it wasn't a big deal… you were just making music, and making music better was the most important thing.

We admired Andrea's manner with the class; the way she brought students along

implied planning and leadership. We did not find her dictatorial. In fact, I said, 'It was great classroom management but I didn't get the sense that the kids were being managed: your management was of the time and the activity'.

*The beginnings of a socially constructed definition of collaboration*

In these two meetings, a socially constructed definition of collaboration was emerging. From four separate conceptions we brought to the first meeting, we converged on the idea that collaboration in the elementary music room involves all students in the musical process, and that students need to feel free to offer input.

At the first meeting, one area in which my definition diverged from other members was in the role of the teacher. Neither Andrea's nor Marlene's remarks indicated they believed, as I did, that the teacher in a collaborative classroom does less direct instruction and more gentle facilitation. I believe Karly shared this idea, as that is how she enacted her role of teacher in the video she brought. She also made statements throughout the meeting that confirmed that viewpoint.

In our second meeting, we all agreed again. We marveled at Andrea's remarkably

engaged students, and asked a number of times how she established such strong student buy-in. After watching Andrea's video, we defined collaboration as a joint student-teacher effort to move toward mutually shared musical goals. We saw a teacher's strong presence in the front of the room, leading the group, does not preclude a collaborative atmosphere. If students participate in making the end product musical, their contributions toward that end will likely be collaborative. We all perceived the students' excitement on video. We attributed that enthusiasm to a goal shared with their teacher: to make their rhythmic canon crisply accurate and end with a concerted flourish.

One divergence in our understanding of student musical collaboration concerned the amount of student creativity in the lesson. Karly said the activity on video seemed familiar to Andrea's students, so she wondered if Andrea could next try letting students improvise. She speculated this would involve students in 'conversing with each other and going to the next step of collaboration'. Karly also wondered if adding a student-created element could enhance 'buy-in': a term we used frequently. She said, 'Then it's really their tune, it's like they're creating it together so they have that personalization, their stamp on it…that piece can be so powerful to kids'. From these comments, I understand that Karly perceived student creativity as an important part of collaboration; creativity was not a salient part of Andrea's lesson.

*Meeting Three*

In our third meeting, we talked about Marlene's video. Marlene has to go into the students' classrooms to teach music while they sit at desks. In this video, she was teaching them to play on recorder some songs they already knew how to sing. We immediately identified collaboration in students turning their bodies, heads, and ears to listen and play together, compensating for a less-than-ideal room arrangement. Andrea said:

> I focused on these two kids in the video: they were watching each other, they were really making sure they did the same fingering at the same time and were playing right together. They were working together to listen…bouncing to the beat, doing whatever they needed to stay working together.

Students turning around to watch and listen to each other seemed to indicate their strong desire to be in sync. While they might not actually be able to hear other students playing recorder across an acoustically dead classroom with many desks and bodies in the way, they could certainly look at one another to make sure their physical movements were coordinated. We defined this aspect of collaboration as similar to what we'd seen in Andrea's video: collaboration can evolve naturally from students' strong desire to make a musical ensemble work.

We saw students in their desks talking and working side-by-side. We agreed that students should be able to process information together. For the first time in our meetings, we explicitly connected collaboration with the possibility of outward chaos. Because Marlene goes into classrooms to teach, she sometimes feels that other teachers working in the room disapprove of student chatter. Marlene said she wants a classroom with more student choice, which means '…sometimes you're going to have a mess…where you give them freedom, to do more creating, there's going to going to be talking'.

Marlene's students loved picking duet partners from way across the room, and bravely played duets, bringing back the idea from meeting one of collaboration including student choice, freedom and risk-taking.

*Refinement of Socially Constructed Definition of Collaboration*

In this meeting, we continued to refine two previously identified conceptions of collaboration as (a) encompassing whole-group involvement, and (b) naturally occurring when students work toward a goal of musical ensemble. We added two components to our definition. First is

the idea that students' eye contact, body positioning and body language are markers of collaboration. This evidence might be overlooked by teachers, especially when we insist that students face forward and watch the teacher. Second, we wrestled with the idea that collaboration in the music classroom might necessitate chaos and noise: side effects that other teachers, administrators, and even students might be uncomfortable with. Our language in this part of the discussion reflects ambivalence; no one wanted Marlene to manage her class to the extent that there was no freedom of self-expression and student choice left. On the other hand, we understood the difficulties that teachers face when letting go and allowing students to collaborate more freely. We wondered if skills for peaceful, productive collaboration could be taught.

*A Socially Constructed and Shared Definition of Collaboration*

Figure 1. Construction of a Socially Shared Definition of Collaboration, Meetings 4-7

| Meeting | Video Presenter | Theme | Defining Characteristics | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Students | Teachers |
| Meeting Four | Karly | Teaching Collaboration | Interact socially and musically<br><br>- All students are musically involved at all times<br>- Interact with partners, small groups, and whole class<br>- Identify own and others' strengths<br>- Feel part of a musical community | Consciously teaches collaborative skills<br><br>- Enables collaboration through logical steps<br>- Enables collaboration in full group unison, then pairs, then full group performing different parts (whole-part-whole)<br>-Allows time for students to experiment and find strengths |
| Meeting Five | Andrea | Collaboration and Self-Assessment | As a group are self-reliant<br><br>- Rely on each other to meet shared musical goals<br>- Give input and feedback to fix problems and evaluate progress | Steps back and listens to students self-assessing<br><br>- Releases responsibility as tasks get harder<br>- Gets important information on students by listening to them self-evaluate<br>- Views collaboration as a life skill |
| Meeting Six | Marlene | Student Freedom | Freedom<br><br>- Work in groups on a project<br>- Can envision themselves doing the task by seeing classmates as models at the beginning<br>- Can move freely, talk, and make own decisions in group<br>- Share results with the class at the end and all discuss the task | Relaxed demeanor<br><br>- Allows movement and talking<br>- Creates an authentic musical task that highly interests students<br>- Uses student models to think aloud for the class, instead of giving strict direction<br>- Rejects goal of perfect, quiet class in favor of messier evidence of learning |
| Meeting Seven | | Wrap-Up | Large Concepts Discussed<br>- Collaboration is community<br>- The teacher's role in collaboration<br>- What collaboration is not | |

The above figure summarizes how the group's understanding of collaboration continued to be constructed throughout the course of the last four meetings.

*Our Principles of Collaboration*

Cochran-Smith and Donnell (2006) summarized some of the complex issues surrounding making teachers' study widely accessible. They warned that some researchers see the 'wisdom of practice' resulting from teacher research as only situated, personal, and relational: that it cannot be a substantial contribution to the body of formal teaching knowledge. While this is not a teacher or action research study, per se, we did use evidence from the participants' classrooms and teaching practice to define collaboration. In analysis, when I looked holistically at the emergence of these definitions, I determined that throughout the CTSG we chunked recurrent characteristics of our definitions together. I extracted these recurring characteristics and distilled them into principles. Bearing in mind the research question— What can these music teachers tell other music educators about collaboration? - I posit that while these principles took shape as a way to codify the characteristics of collaboration for our group, they are robust enough for meaningful consideration by other music educators for applicability in other music education contexts.

*Principles of Collaboration*

Our three principles of collaboration are:

1. Collaboration facilitates student self-expression and independence.
2. Students who are collaborating share goals. The teacher allows space for, or guides students in creating, productive student-student interactions.
3. A teacher collaborating with her students facilitates their movement toward a shared goal. Teacher provides necessary background skills, creates student buy-in for the goal, and then fades away to allow students to take ownership

*Principle One*

The CTSG members consistently defined collaboration as a phenomenon not an end to itself, but starting something bigger. For example, in our evolving definition of collaboration throughout the CTSG we credited collaboration with enabling personalization of musical choice, freedom from reliance on the teacher, creativity, and ownership of new ideas, among other things. Summing up the power of collaboration in collaborative principle one was helpful as it encompassed all our ideas within one statement: collaboration facilitates student self-expression and independence. Principle one dovetails with Wiggins's (2000) findings in a longitudinal study of classroom collaboration. As Wiggins's students shared ideas and reshaped them in response to interactions with others, they became confident about their own creations and were more likely to change and play with musical ideas in response to others' input. She found that successful classroom musical collaboration results in a process that 'generates within the individual a sense of possibilities' (p. 49).

*Principle Two*

In the CTSG, we found that in order for students to converge on a new meaning - in other words, learn something about music - they need to be able to talk. Roschelle and Teasley (1995) agree, stating: '…[c]ollaboration does not just happen because individuals are co-present; individuals must make a conscious, continued effort to coordinate their language and activity with respect to shared knowledge' (p. 94). Teachers need to allow space for this effort, and provide mechanisms and situations for the talk to be productive.

Principles two and three of collaboration relate to shared goals: goals shared among students, or between teacher and students, or both. In the CTSG videos, the situations which we deemed productive, effective for student learning, and collaborative featured a visible, tangible effort to share goals. But for goals to truly be held in common, everyone must accept

them. The CTSG teachers portrayed a number of ways to instigate group ownership of goals, and regardless of the teaching or learning situation, it is clear that collaboration required a great deal of Roschelle and Teasley's 'conscious, continued effort'. Therefore, merely working alongside one another is not enough, the target must be shared by all, which is why principles two and three specify "shared goals" along with space, or teacher facilitation, to create and maintain them. The CTSG teachers' videos demonstrated to us that true collaboration requires students to share a vision or desired outcome with each other and/or with the teacher.

*Principle Three*

Principle three describes collaboration in a sequence in which a teacher facilitates her students' progress toward a shared goal. Younker and Burnard (2004) found a similar pattern in teachers' interventions within groups of students collaborating to compose and arrange. They found that teachers guided students in a learning process by asking them to describe, clarify, and reflect together. We talked often in the CTSG about the role of teacher as guide and facilitator, much like Allsup (2003) described: 'I needed to teach *with* my students, rather than *to* my students' (p. 34). Our definitions of collaboration included much language about how teachers enable and provide space for collaboration. Principle Three condenses our multifaceted views of the teacher's role into a shorter and more direct idea.

## Conclusion

To help me answer the research question, 'What can these music teachers tell other music educators about collaboration?' the participants first brought forth information about how collaboration occurred in *their* music classrooms. Their perceptions about collaboration, the

analysis of the videos at the meetings, and my subsequent examination of the data, allow me here to describe collaboration in many guises and situations. These findings illuminate a number of collaborative strategies that the CTSG members were already incorporating in their practice, and aspects of collaboration that were naturally occurring among students. Taking apart the lessons on video helped us better understand and name some of these phenomena. Some of our understandings about collaboration were usual practice for the CTSG teachers and me; some were new ideas. We were able to explain and name this knowledge in order to make it clearer for us and for others.

The collective thinking of the CTSG participants helps contribute to the knowledge of what collaboration looks like in the elementary music classroom. The presence of collaboration in music education should continue to be investigated, specifically in terms of how collaboration may enhance students' musical experiences and learning. Future investigation of our principles of collaboration may illuminate how these ideas may or may not transfer to other teaching settings and levels. Future research may also lead to a refinement of definitions of collaboration in music, and a more precise determination of how definitions of collaboration are co-constructed by different groups of teachers. Evidence of, and for, student musical collaboration is a rich area for future study.

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**Endnotes**

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# WPA/Federal Music Project in the United States: Music Education and Music Teacher Education 1935-1943

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*Abstract*

During the Great Depression of the 1930s in the United States, the federal government tried several avenues to lift the heavy unemployment within the country. One of these was the Works Project Administration (WPA), 1935-1943. Artists and musicians were particularly hard hit during this period. In an unprecedented effort not to loose the talents of the country's artists, President Franklin D. Roosevelt established a section of the WPA called Federal Project One. This focused exclusively on the arts and encompassed separate Federal Projects for Theater, Music, the Visual Arts, and Writers. Within the Federal Music Project (FMP) were sections for instrumental and vocal performing groups, music copyists and binders, and music teaching. During this period, many unemployed private music teachers were retrained to become music teachers in the rural schools of America. This research paper focuses on the teacher education components of the FMP. Since the project was run similarly in many states, one state may serve as an exemplar for all, in this case the state of Michigan. Included are primary source information about the rural school needs assessment for the state, teacher training workshops, and the interrelationship between the teacher education section and the other music sections of the WPA. Although it never came to fruition, the WPA/FMP was perhaps the greatest attempt in the United States to provide federal support for the arts. The music teacher education component was a vital component.

## Introduction

During the Great Depression of the 1930s in the United States, banks failed, companies closed, and wide-spread unemployment forced many people to go 'on relief' for basic sustenance. These were difficult economic times at best for the general population, and the federal government tried several avenues to lift the heavy unemployment within the country. One of these efforts was the Works Progress Administration (WPA), which operated from 1935 to 1943, to provide work building highways, dams, bridges and the like. Artists and musicians were particularly hard hit during this period. In an unprecedented effort not to lose the talents of the country's artists, President Franklin D. Roosevelt established a special section of the WPA called Federal Project One. This endeavor focused exclusively on keeping artists employed as such and encompassed separate Federal Projects for Theater, Music, Art, and Writers. Under the Federal Music Project (FMP) musicians could apply for work as instrumentalists and vocalists in newly established performing ensembles. The FMP also hired music copyists, binders and librarians, composers, and music teachers.

## Review of Literature

From 1935 to 1939, the primary information about the WPA Federal Music Project (WPA/FMP) came directly from the Administrator's Office. During that period, Nikolai Sokoloff, National Director of the FMP, submitted summaries of the Music Project for the US Congress. Once the WPA moved from federal to state control (1939-1943), the federal WPA oversight commissioner wrote yearly reports. These reports cover all the WPA activities from road building to the arts, and are filled with graphs and tables of unemployment figures and

expenditures along with a brief narrative (*Report on Progress of the WPA Program,* 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942; *Final Report on the WPA Program, 1935-1943*, 1943.).

The *Record of Program Operation and Accomplishment,* which George Foster, the last National WPA/FMP Program Director, delivered to Congress in 1943 was an extensive overview of the work from the WPA/Federal Project One's inception in 1935 to its disbanding in 1943. This is the only original compendium of the entire project available. It is descriptive in nature, offering explanation and interpretation.

Popular magazines also carried articles to enlighten the average musical public about the workings of the Music Project. In the April 1937 issue of *The Etude,* for example, there is a clear explanation of the various components of the FMP, identifying the teaching projects along with the symphony orchestra, opera, music copying, and composition projects. The article noted that in 1936, 1, 290 teachers were employed through the WPA, working in 286 individual project locations. Because of their WPA work, some teachers were hired by school districts where previously there had been no music instruction at all (Sokoloff, 1937, pp. 221-2). Similar articles appeared in *Literary Digest* ('WPA Melody for Twenty Millions: Federal Music Project', September, 1936, p. 22), *Current History* ('Federal Music Project', September, 1938, pp. 42-4) and the *Musical Quarterly* (Ashley Pettis, 'The WPA and the American Composer', September, 1940, pp. 101-12).

WPA/FMP administrators at both the national and state level presented speeches at music education meetings. These speeches were informational in nature, often giving an outline of events, plans, and goals for the WPA/FMP, in particular for music education and teacher retraining. Some of these presentations were published in the Music Educators National Conference yearbooks; others were in the yearbooks of the Music Teachers National Association (Maier, 1938; Moore, 1939; Finney, 1940).

The work of the WPA/FMP has also been the subject of several dissertations and books. The dissertations of Kenneth Bindas, Cornelius Canon, and Janelle Warren-Findley each provided overviews of the Federal Music Project from their various perspectives: music as American cultural nationalism, music in a democracy, and music as a political/social experiment in American history, respectively (Canon, 1963; Warren-Findley, 1973; Bindas, 1988). William Woodworth's research focused exclusively on the FMP in New Jersey (Woodworth, 1970).

William F. McDonald devoted several chapters in his book *Federal Relief Administration and the Arts* to outlining the origins and administrative history of the WPA and Federal Project One (McDonald, 1969, Chapters 23 and 24). He allotted one chapter each to the separate arts within the Project: Theater, Art, Writers, and Music. The chapter on the FMP covers each component of the Music Project: Symphony orchestras; opera; composers, the composers' forum and the index of American composers; radio programs; music festivals; world fairs; folk music; music copying and the music analysis unit; and music education and teacher training. This last section offered a concise picture of the various ways music education was a part of the WPA, from music appreciation lectures prior to concerts by WPA orchestras to studio teacher retraining for placement with large class lessons at community centers (Ibid. Chapter 25).

Milton Meltzer (1976) wrote a book about the WPA arts projects for younger readers, wherein he explained the different ways the WPA helped the people of America. He included photographs along with his narrative to help young people understand this portion of American history. His descriptions of the Music Project included a brief section on music education and community music.

Kathryn Flynn gave a succinct overview of Roosevelt's New Deal programs in her book *The New Deal,* and specifically included a chapter devoted to the Federal Music Project.

However it is almost exclusively devoted to the performing groups established under the FMP. There is no mention of the education projects except for a last, somewhat inaccurate, comment that in today's economy schools 'have little or no funds to provide music as a part of their curriculum' and a suggestion that lessons from the FMP be 'considered as a possible remedy' (Flynn, 2008, pp. 56-63).

**Review Summary and Purpose**

Each researcher has his/her own focus for this topic, and since there is a great deal of primary source information, no one covered the topic of music education under the WPA exclusively or exhaustively. The *Record of Program Operation and Accomplishment* is the only primary source that contains a complete review of the entire project. However, it is a final report for the nation and does not contain specific examples for every state or for every section of the WPA/FMP.

Since each piece of research presents some portion of the music education picture under the WPA/FMP, this research focuses on collating this existing information, focusing particularly on music education and music teacher education within the FMP. Given that the project was run similarly in many states, one state may serve as an exemplar for all, in this case the state of Michigan, which had an 'exceptionally fine' WPA Music Program (Foster, 1943, pp. 368-9).

**Historical Context**

By the time of the Wall Street crash in 1929, musicians in the United States were already in the throes of unemployment. The armed forces had employed many bandsmen during World

War I, however, these bandsmen returned home to find jobs becoming more and more scarce as the 1920s progressed. First, the increased popularity of the phonograph made live performances less desirable; then the newly introduced radio cut positions for live music in restaurants and hotel dining rooms. Some of these musicians were absorbed as instrumental teachers in the newly organized programs of the public schools; many were not. With the introduction of talking films in 1928, pit orchestras from the erstwhile silent movies became redundant, adding to the unemployment rolls. The Depression of the 1930s completed this list of employment woes for musicians as the economic strain curtailed the sale of concert tickets for the symphony and opera, and the population saved money by dropping private lessons and cutting financial support for local community performing groups. In 1934, the American Federation of Musicians union estimated that 70% of its national membership was unemployed (McDonald, 1969, pp. 586-7). In addition, the economic conditions forced school systems to make deep cuts in their budgets, often reducing music funding or cutting music teaching positions altogether (Wilson, 1935, p.19).

**The WPA/FMP**

In 1935 President Roosevelt appointed Harry Hopkins National Administrator of the WPA. With the President's approval, Hopkins designed Federal Project One to create a cultural program that would help the citizenry through the Depression. He appointed Nikolai Sokoloff to be director of the WPA/Federal Music Project.

As a well-known conductor, performer and composer, and someone who believed 'music is a public right and obligation' (Sokollof, 1937, cited in Bindas, 1988), Sokoloff had the musical credentials and the insight into the need for cultural service to give the FMP the strength it needed to begin. Sokoloff put together a team to hire unemployed musicians and

build orchestras, concert bands, and other performing ensembles for the US. Besides his immediate administrative staff, he appointed four regional staff leaders and twenty-four state directors, with an eye to both their administrative and musical abilities (Sokoloff, 1936).

Endeavoring to employ as many musicians as possible, Sokoloff outlined five major groups or units within the FMP: instrumental ensembles; vocal ensembles; music teaching; composition; and service jobs. The FMP funded orchestras, concert and dance bands, ethnic folk ensembles, operas and choruses across the nation. It provided music for these organizations by hiring music copyists, binders and librarians rather than simply purchasing the music. Other performers and private music instructors were retrained to provide music appreciation education, both through the public schools and community education (Sokoloff, 1937, pp. 221-2).

**FMP/Music Education**

As one of the key components of the FMP, music education was designed to reach as many people as possible, primarily through group instruction and community music education. It encompassed a number of units: music appreciation, community music lessons (instrumental and vocal), community performing groups, classroom music, and the retraining of musicians to teach all of these. With almost two-thirds of the children in rural schools having no music instruction, WPA music teachers were often sent to these schools. Besides classes in the schools (usually before or after regular school hours), lessons were made available at community centers across the nation. Every conceivable subject in music was offered, from instrument and voice lessons to music theory, conducting and composition. New York City had one of the largest music programs in the country, including three WPA orchestras. Arthur

Lief, a WPA musician in New York City, described the schools of music that were set up under the WPA Music Project saying,

> They were literally conservatories of music, all free. The only requirements that the Government made was …the instruction was to be in class form, not private instruction, which was a way of avoiding the possibility of taking away income from private teachers after all. This particular school where I taught gave classes in literally everything in the music world. I was even asked to give a class in conducting, in music theory, in music appreciation, in instruction in various instruments. (Lief, 1977)

These public 'conservatories of music' offered lessons in piano, voice, all orchestral instruments, music history and theory, performing ensembles, and music appreciation. WPA advertisements touted that these classes would assist in obtaining jobs in the field of music, such as an orchestra player, radio announcer, music salesman, concert singer, music teacher, radio singer, music critic, accompanist, and conductor.'[1]

In order to select students for music instruction, early in 1936 the FMP developed a form to be filled out and signed by the pupils or their parents in which 'they declared that the applicant for instruction was unable to pay for private instruction and had not studied with a private teacher for at least three months.' Most states used this form or one like it.
However, in rural communities 'where there was not a music teacher for miles around it was usual to admit all comers' (Foster, 1943, p. 360).

A 1937 correspondence outlined the job description and qualifications for music teachers under the WPA/FMP. They were to instruct, guide and direct 'instrumental and singing groups (children and (or) adults) in learning and developing musical skills and appreciation.' The minimum requirements for a professional music teacher were a high school diploma, 'six years of music training, two of which must have been for some phase of music education … , at least two years … experience as a teacher… and some experience in group instruction.' They were to have the technical knowledge of music theory and music history, and be able to play simple arrangements on the piano.[2] Those musicians who did not

have this background were retrained for class music teaching. Unfortunately, every state did not follow through with the retraining, and as a result the music education section of the WPA/FMP was sporadic across the nation.

Sokoloff (1937, p. 221) reported 1,290 persons employed in the teaching projects during 1936, and there were nearly equal numbers in the years that followed. However, the real significance of the numbers of teachers is to be found in the numbers of students taught over the years. In 1938 in New York City alone there was an estimated 40,000 children and adults taking music classes,[3] while the national enrollment cited in the 1939 report was 530,000 persons.[4]

Although WPA projects declined as World War II began, music education did not, and along with the established locations added classes in the armed forces camps under the aegis of the Division of Recreation and Community Service. Whether in community centers, schoolrooms or army camp recreation halls, teachers continued to have large classes lessons or community performing ensembles. All this teaching activity eventually impacted the larger WPA performing groups in the form of audiences.

In some states the need for music teachers was great. Even in his first year, Sokoloff had identified the need for music education in rural America ((Sokoloff, 1936, p. 19). Unfortunately, except for the most active music projects (Oklahoma, Florida, Mississippi and Michigan), this went mostly undocumented. In 1937 Karl Wecker, state director for Michigan, sent out a survey to 1,000 music teachers in the rural school districts of his state. He received 739 replies, ‘representing an enrollment of 26,667 pupils’ (Wecker, 1937).

The survey asked demographics about the music teachers (years of experience, educational background); their schools and their school schedule; their music supplies (song books, phonograph and recordings, and radios); the status of ‘old time singing schools’ in their county; and even the names of books about music in their school libraries. The results

showed that only 10 teachers were trained in public school music; for the rest, music teacher training was limited or non-existent. There were still 22 singing schools in Michigan in 1937; most churches had congregational singing, but no hymnals. There were records and record players in 211 schools, but only 37 radios. The nearest private music teacher was 18 miles away, though 13,000 students would 'gladly make the journey' if lessons were available to them. Instrumental lessons were only available in 128 communities (Wecker, 1937). This survey showed the woeful state of rural music education in Michigan, but it's greater significance was that it was forwarded to Washington as documentation of the need for WPA music teachers.

**WPA Music Program/Music Education**

In 1939, two major events occurred in the WPA/FMP. First, Sokoloff resigned and Earl V. Moore from The University of Michigan was appointed Director. Second, the federal government disbanded the Theater Project as too controversial and turned over the more conservative Art, Writers, and Music Projects to the states, requiring them to cover at least 25% of the costs with local sponsorship for each event or project. The FMP became the WPA Music Program within the new Work Projects Administration (also WPA) under state jurisdiction. Whereas all the states had some WPA/FMP music projects while under federal jurisdiction, only 38 states (including Michigan), and the separate entities of Washington, D.C., New York City, and Northern California, chose to continue their now re-named Music Programs (Warren-Findley, 1973, p. 300). As a result, there was a wide geographical dispersion between units. Washington technically maintained some control, but the states were really in charge.[5]

Excerpts compiled from Earl V. Moore's personal correspondence give a 'view from the top' of the WPA Music Project as it stood in 1939-40:

> [to John D. Lynch,]
> In many ways, it is as if the Arts Projects were starting all over again with a new set of rules. … in one project alone – New York City – in our Music Education Division we have a faculty for this next year of 228 persons. To have a chance to help such a group of professional teachers, develop a curriculum to still higher standards, and be sure that significant results are being obtained for the expenditure of a very large sum of money is [no] … simple matter (Moore, Oct. 2, 1939).
>
> [to Eugene (no last name given),]
> From now on, the Washington office is purely an administrative organization, whose function is to maintain standards and to work with the State Supervisors in carrying out the provisions of the project as it is set up in their state with at least 25% contribution by local sponsors. … (Moore, Aug. 23, 1939).
>
> [to Francis L. Riodan,]
> I am seeing what can be done to make a good musical program out of the work that is being done in music by those on relief who have musical skills. … We are now planning on developing an extensive program in every state… . If it works out it will be the greatest experiment in quantity music education that has ever been started. … No other country in the world ever undertook such a program, and because there are no precedents, and because there is no trained personnel for the specific job of working out an art program within a workrelief [*sic*] program, the challenge … is great (Moore, Feb. 3, 1940).'[6]

With the change from Sokoloff to Moore, there was an immediate increase in the number of education units.[7] This resulting change in emphasis within the WPA/FMP was hardly surprising. Where Sokoloff was a conductor steeped in the performance tradition, Dr. Moore was an educator. Community classes, rural education, and teacher retraining units related to both these areas began to supersede the numbers of performing groups, as community service became another umbrella under which the music program operated.

**Teacher Re-training**

Much of what the WPA did to help unemployed musicians involved re-training. Unemployed musicians had gotten rusty and had to 'get their fingers back,' conductors had to re-learn the

art of conducting, and copyists needed to polish their technique.[8] Studio music teachers who only taught individual lessons needed training in classroom methods.

Almost immediately, Moore organized three regional training institutes for state supervisors to acquaint them with the latest teaching methods and educational psychology. These supervisors were to bring this information back to their states and follow up with state institutes to disseminate the new material. This was all to help re-train studio music teachers were only knew their one-on-one teaching method, so they would be able to handle group instruction successfully (Foster, 1943, pp. 199-205). There were even classes to prepare teachers to deal with the paperwork of their WPA employment: time sheets, attendance reports, class schedules and the like (ibid., pp. 205-206). Given the dearth of music teachers, these re-trained teachers were often assigned to community venues or rural public schools.

Teacher re-training in the 1930s looked very similar to workshops offered at music education conferences today. The Michigan teacher training institutes were often 4 -7 days long, usually hosted at rural resorts. Workshop topics in one of these institutes included classes in music theory (rudiments and ear training), music appreciation, choral conducting, instrument lessons, educational psychology, class piano methods, rhythm band, folklore in music and old-time dancing. There were either a concert or a dance in the evenings.[9] The result of this training was evident in the glowing reports of schools now with the services of a music teacher. In one rural school in Michigan, a WPA teacher coached the entire student body in singing and playing tonettes (a kind of pitched whistle) twice a week. Nineteen other WPA music teachers worked in the Flint city schools before and after regular classes giving group instrument lessons.[10]

Teacher certification was the one thing that never developed as a result of the WPA teacher-training efforts. While Florida crafted a special exam for WPA music teachers so that they might apply for state certification and then be able to work in the public schools, the

other states did not.[11] Because taking classes at a teachers' college was non-WPA work, these classes could not be subsidized, and this effectively cut WPA teachers from advancing directly from the WPA to the ranks of certified teachers. Had they been allowed to do so, many teachers would have become certified and met with teaching success in a new career.

**Music Appreciation**

Music appreciation classes were part of the mainstay of the WPA. Adults often attended classes or lectures given prior to the concert. In addition, music appreciation concerts for children were high on the list of performing opportunities for WPA musicians. In order to make these concerts both pleasant and educational for students, the WPA re-trained conductors who had never led a concert for young people, and were inexperienced in program selection, child psychology and the people skills necessary to make a music appreciation concert come alive for children (Foster, 1943, pp. 199-205). The results were gratifying.

In Michigan the WPA often sponsored a full day of music in small rural communities. The WPA musicians visited one or two individual schools in the morning to present educational concerts performed for a school-wide assembly. In the afternoon, student instrumentalists were given the opportunity to work with WPA musicians in what amounted to small master classes. The WPA musicians assisted them in mini-lessons, fine-tuning the students' tone and technique on their instruments. Later that afternoon there would be a joint rehearsal of the students performing side-by-side with WPA musicians under the direction of the school music supervisor. In the evening, the WPA musicians performed a standard concert open to the community with the students and their parents often returning to hear it (ibid., p. 32). In the larger cities, students had regular opportunities to attend Young Peoples' Concerts presented by the WPA orchestras. It is no wonder that after growing up with nearly

five years of student concerts, there were record numbers of young adults attending WPA concerts in the early 1940s.[12]

**Summary**

Music education through the WPA began as part of the Federal Music Project under Nikolai Sokoloff (1935-1939). The *Final Report of the WPA Program* summarized music education during this period saying:

> WPA musicians served as music teachers, coached and directed class groups and choruses, and acted as lecturers and demonstrators. Music teachers organized and conducted classes for persons interested in music as an avocation and for public schools that did not provide regular music instruction for their pupils.[13]

Programs such as community ensembles and large group classes started bringing music participation and appreciation to many people free of charge.

Although Sokoloff first noted the need for music education in the rural schools, as Foster noted '…the upswing in WPA music education services came in 1939 with the appointment of Dr. Earl V. Moore as National Director' (Foster, 1943, p. 358). Moore encouraged music teacher education, especially re-training for studio teachers, to develop enough music teachers to reach all the children, especially in rural schools.

Although the Music Project employed large numbers of teaching projects, often education was the first thing cut when funding was low, in order to support the performing groups (ibid., p. 285). However, because of its service components, music education units were generally absorbed under the Recreation and Community Service Project and therefore most often continued undisturbed. As the United States involvement in World War II

developed, the WPA Music Projects smoothly integrated concerts and morale building programs for the armed forces.

**Conclusions**

The WPA Music Program was a 'creature of the government' and a very small part of unemployment relief work that was mainly focused on large construction projects during the Great Depression (ibid., p. xii). Music education was an even smaller component. Although the education units were second only to performing groups in numbers of persons hired under the Music Project, in fact they accounted for only 10% of the total national employment under the WPA/FMP (ibid., p. 358). While the numbers of music teachers remained relatively small, their effects were large. When added together, the attendance for music classes and concerts was consistently in the millions throughout the period of the WPA. There were enormous numbers of people eagerly seeking music and music instruction across the nation, and music education and music teacher education were vital components of all this. Indeed, both Sokoloff and Moore saw music appreciation, concert performances, community music making, and music education in all the schools of the United States as primary to the well-being of the country.

Despite its size, the WPA/FMP was a rare moment in the history of the United States. It was an agency for relief of unemployed musicians, and as such, though not perfectly designed, accomplished its purpose. It was *not* what so many hoped it would become: government subsidy for the arts. Nonetheless, it will live in history as perhaps the greatest attempt in the United States to provide federal support for the arts thus far. It was a time when creativity in the arts, especially music, was valued, not just for employment

opportunities in an economic depression, but for the nurturing of the American spirit that it provided. It remains to be seen what effect the arts will have in the current economic climate.

The WPA/FMP offered the people of the United States more than just work or music. One of Arthur Lief's students in New York City spoke for many when she summed up her WPA music education. She said,

> This is something I've always wanted to do all my life. I couldn't afford it. … what I get [from these classes] is so precious … I can't tell you what it means to me. (Lief, 1977)

Another person more clearly described her reactions while listening to a WPA symphony concert:

> How clearly I remember, out of the depths of dark feelings springing from closed banks and no work, the wonderful sensation that comes from something more than 'bread alone' … Depression go hang for the moment [!][14]

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Illustration 1: WPA/FMP Poster (n.d.)

http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/h?pp/PPALL:@field(NUMBER+@1(cph+3f05356)

Illustration 2: Photo of WPA string class, New York City, 1936

http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/images/photodb/27-0455a.gif

**Endnotes**

[1] 'Education by the WPA.' *New York Times (1857-Current File;* July 12, 1936; ProQuest Historical Newspapers The New York Times 1851-2005), p. X5; 'WPA Teaches Music to 60,000 Weekly. *New York Times (1857-Current File;* April 5, 1937; ProQuest Historical Newspapers The New York Times 1851-2005), p.17; WPA/FMP Poster, accessed online through the Library of Congress at http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?:65:./temp~ammemWFU8, June 15, 2009.

[2] 'Office Correspondence' from Nat Rogg to Mr. Mayforth, August 16, 1937. Library of Congress, WPA/FMP/Box #3/File: exhibits #20, Folder #9.

[3] 'Says WPA Spreads Music Appreciation,' *New York Time (1857 – Current file);* April 10, 1938*;* Proquest Historical Newspapers, *The New York Times* (1851-2005), p. 22; 'Education by the WPA', *New York Times* (1857-Current File), July 12, 1936; 'WPA Teaches Music to 60,000 Weekly', *New York Times* (1857-Current File), April 5, 1937, WPA/FMP poster, accessed online through the Library of Congress, June 15, 2009.

[4] Sokoloff, 'America's Vast Musical Awakening,' 221; *Report on the Progress of the WPA Program*. Washington, D.C. : Work Projects Administration, June 30, 1939.

[5] Earl V. Moore Collection, Letter to Eugene [no last name given], August 23, 1939.
Bentley Historical Library, The University of Michigan, Box #1, Folder: Correspondence 1938-1940 (2 of 4).

[6] Earl V. Moore Collection. Bentley Historical Library, The University of Michigan. Letter from Dr. Moore to Mr. John D. Lynch, October 2, 1939; Letter from Earl V. Moore to Eugene [no last name given], August 23, 1939. Box #1, Folder: Correspondence 1938-1940 (2 of 4); Letter from Earl V. Moore to Mr. Francis L. Riodan, February 3, 1940. Box #1, Folder: 'Works Projects Administration Music Program.'

[7] *Report on the Progress of the WPA Program*. Washington, D.C.: Work Projects Administration, June 30, 1941, p. 46; Warren-Findley, 'Of Tears and Need,' 300.

[8] Foster, *Record of Program Operation and Accomplishment,* 199-205.

[9] Michigan Music Project, Teacher Training Institute, Waldenwoods at Hartland, MI, 1940; Michigan Music Project, Schedule of Teachers' Training Institute , Johnson's Rustic Resort, Houghton Lake-Prudenville, MI 1941. NARA, College Park, MD. WPA/FMP Box #4 – Reports. File: Exhibits No. 22 cont'd to Folder #2.

[10] 'Work Projects Administration Serves Music to Michigan in Several Ways', *The Flint Journal,* Sunday, December 8, 1940. Library of Congress. WPA/FMP Box #141, Folder #7/File Clippings Michigan 1940 Oct. – Dec.

[11] According to Foster, even with a degree from a university, these states still required that a regulation course be taken at the Normal School 'which grounded the teacher in the proper height of window shades at 4: 00 P. M.' Foster, *Record of Program Operation and Accomplishment,* 361-62.

[12] Foster, *Record of Program Operation and Accomplishment,* 47; *Report on the Progress of the WPA Program*. Washington, D.C.: Work Projects Administration, June 30, 1939, 24; 1940, 134; 1941, 81; 1942, 51.

[13] *Final Report on the WPA Program, 1935-43.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 64.

[14] Letter from Marie Beyne Gillis Tubbs, in 'Our Readers Remember Resourcefulness and Music.' *Michigan History,* 66 no. 1 (January/February 1982), 3. This letter described a concert by the WPA Orchestra in Grand Rapids, MI.

# Basil Bernstein's Theory of the Pedagogic Device Applied to Curriculum Construction in Music Education: From the Macro- to a Microview of Instructional Practices

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*Abstract*

In continuation of 2 papers by Froehlich and Johnson (2008) and Wright (2008) on the application of Basil Bernstein's work to school music practices in the United Kingdom and the United States, this paper explains Bernstein's theories of linguistic codes and pedagogic device. The paper is based on the premise that both the U.K. and the U.S. experience a cultural inversion because those holding economic and cultural capital seem no longer advocates of high or elite culture nor particularly interested in buying into this form of cultural capital through arts education for their children. Because the phenomenon of cultural inversion can be explained by Bourdieu's constructs of field and *habitus*, both also featured in Bernstein's later work, a brief review of field and habitus connects to Bernstein's analysis of the relationships of educational fields to the field of power in compulsory school settings. Those relationships are described as codes of conduct (including instructional language, repertoire choice, and other pertinent pedagogic choices) that derive from linguistic practices and the recontextualization of knowledge for purposes of schooling. The rules of such recontextualization (distributive, recontexutalizing, and evaluative) may serve as useful analytic tools for music educators wishing to become agents for social change.

## Introduction

At the 2007 symposium, two separate papers (Froehlich & Johnson, 2008; Wright, 2008) addressed Basil Bernstein's work in its application to music educational practices. Both presentations pointed out that Basil Bernstein's work, while receiving much attention by general educationists, has not been given the same attention by the music education research and academic community in the United States or, until very recently, in the United Kingdom. This year, Wright and Froehlich have joined forces to delve deeper into Bernstein's theoretical framework than the two previous presentations did. For this reason, this paper takes on the character of an information-providing essay rather than a report of original research.

The paper's premise is that the United Kingdom and the United States experience a phenomenon called cultural inversion, meaning that those holding economic and cultural capital are no longer advocates of high or elite culture, nor are they particularly interested in buying into this form of cultural capital through arts education for their children. Bourdieu explained this phenomenon with his theoretical frames of field and *habitus*, constructs also featured in Bernstein's later work. It is this work on the relationship of educational fields to the field of power that we believe demonstrates Bernstein's continued relevance for (1) understanding music schooling as a class- and code-specific educational practice; and (2) drawing close connections between specific societal expectations, instructional practices, and their respective codes. Both issues reflect what school music practices are sociologically: accepted and expected patterns of conduct that stand for a particular concept of 'what being cultured & educated' means. Teachers are being held to such expectations by the need to use specialized instructional language; choose repertoire from a somewhat predetermined catalogue of accepted, if not controlled, musical and academic

materials; and utilize a limited number of other pedagogic choices that are sanctioned by the institution 'school.'

Because of the connection between Bernstein and Bourdieu's thinking, we briefly review main aspects of Bourdieu's Cultural Theory prior to explaining Bernstein's earlier work on class, code, and curriculum (e.g., Bernstein 1971, 1973 a & b, 1990 a & b; Bernstein & Henderson, 1969) as it later culminated in his theory of the Pedagogic Device (Bernstein 1996, 2000, 2001). We then apply this theory to music education in some detail, concluding with a few suggestions for action.

## A Brief Review of Principal Characteristics in Bourdieu's Cultural Theory

This paper relies on Garnham and Williams (1980), Harker, Mahar and Wilkes (1990), and Branson and Miller (1991) to briefly outline Bourdieu's main points about culture as the product of human agency, cultural objects as a form of capital, and cultural strata as the product of class. The first characteristic, culture as the product of human agency, is related to social practices that confine our actions through *habitus,* that is, established patterns of preference and behaviour. Such patterns are exemplified through varying engagements in such practices as museum and concert attendance, newspaper readership and book purchases, and are distributed differentially throughout the population, correlating with issues of social class.

The second characteristic, cultural strata as the product of class, focus on the cultural differentiation alluded to under the first characteristic. Cultural strata provide badges of membership in a particular class, thereby allowing social divisions to be reproduced. This is where Bourdieu's and Benrstein's thoughts meet most pointedly.

The third characteristic, cultural objects as a form of capital, captures Bourdieu's observation that cultural materials or objects may be reproduced,

consumed, or subjected to various other forms of material transaction. Akin to economic capital, cultural capital is owned to varying degrees by all individuals in society. Like economic capital, the ongoing exchange of cultural items can similarly contribute to the struggle for social domination of some individuals over others. When and where the two principal axes of class; namely, economic capital and cultural capital, intersect within the dominant field of power; a variety of social positions become available (Bourdieu, 1980). There are possibilities for movement by individuals or groups within the social space; however, such possibilities are not limitless because they are confined not only by economic capital but also by possession of cultural capital.

The capacity to participate in high culture is attained in societies as those of western industrialized nations mostly through formal education; that is, schooling. Bourdieu reduced this differential to a relationship between educational attainment and cultural habits, arguing that the capacity to participate in high culture was attained in societies such as those of western industrialized nations, in a major sense, through education. This viewpoint, shared by Bernstein, emphasizes that the key to unlock the culture code is not given to all on an equal basis; instead it is distributed according to social status and schooling, with *habitus* providing the privileged with an enhanced ability to receive and understand the education offered. Only children of educated families therefore have access to the 'culture' key, thus enabling dominant groups within society to demonstrate their superiority by having exclusive access to high culture and, thereby, justifying their superior social position.

We are not suggesting, and neither was Bourdieu nor Bernstein, that all school knowledge is middle class knowledge and that, for this reason, it is inevitably rejected by working class pupils. We argue, instead, that there are *habitus* and class code issues about the recognition and acceptance of curriculum content in music that extend from

the acceptability of the canon in literature to the standing of musical genres. It is our belief that Bernstein's work on class, codes, and curriculum can go far in clarifying (1) the socio-political role repertoire choices and pedagogical decisions play in the field of music education, and (2) the role teachers play in such selection and decision-making processes.

## Bernstein's Work on Class, Codes, and Curriculum

Bernstein's early work on the language of lower working class and middle class children documented differences between the communication codes of both groups which he attributed to social position and overall codes of behavior. He found that lower working class children tended to use relatively restricted codes, by which he meant that the children's language tended to be context dependent, requiring as well as assuming background knowledge about accepted ways of doing and saying things. Such usage was opposite to what he termed elaborated codes, that is, context-independent language, applicable across situations and independent of assumed knowledge by both speaker and recipient.

In Bernstein's observed classrooms, all children had access to both language codes in the classroom. However, socially upward-moving (aspirant) working class and middle class families and their children were more likely than lower class families to have access to and facility with elaborated, context independent codes. Children of aspirant families therefore were able to recognize and produce such language in formal pedagogical discourse. Moreover, and of importance for the identity of children as active learners, Bernstein showed that the observed codes applied not only to language and verbal meaning but also to issues of who controlled whom, to worlds of reason, and to ways of behaving with others. He explained these observed distinctions

in terms of social class and power relations that were directly linked to social divisions of work, family and schooling.

For instance, middle class children were likely to experience little disjunction between the linguistic knowledge and control codes used in school and those experienced at home, whereas some lower class children were disadvantaged at school as they moved from a largely context-dominated, restricted code of language and behavior (home) to a place (school) in which the ability to understand elaborated codes and behavior was a prerequisite to success. In other words, the behavioral codes of formal schooling did not readily or easily transfer to the use of informal (restricted) codes of behaviour, be it verbal or nonverbal. Children with sociolinguistic backgrounds or orientations different from those practiced by and fostered in compulsory schools were disadvantaged in terms of basic, acceptable, attitudinal, and behavioural attributes; including, very mundanely, how work was to be done and how one related to others, both verbally and nonverbally.

Bourdieu (1984) had asserted that the points at which habituses intersect with each other classify practices and cultural objects into a series of distinct, cultural lifestyles. Thus, position determines habitus which, in turn, determines lifestyle. Distinctions of taste become ascribed to social position and related to the ability to appreciate and differentiate between styles and taste. Bernstein believed that such a concept had to be predicated on the view that knowledge structures bring with them further, underlying socio-cultural structures. However, he considered such a view insufficiently dynamic to express the relation of knowledge to power, control and identity because knowledge is not only imbedded in educational codes but also linked to in linguistic ones. Therefore, children's willingness and ability to accept the formal education offered to them is dependent upon their ability to understand and use elaborated linguistic codes.

Originating from these insights into on class, language codes, and school learning, Bernstein developed a much broader theory that described how elaborated linguistic codes reflect 'elaborated knowledge codes,' the latter of which impact on socially based decision-making at all levels of formal education. The theory relates positions within the field of education to socially established patterns of preference and behavior within society at large. Such decisions can be traced from the macro level of society through the meso level of the school to the individual level of the teacher and classroom and thereby lead to the recontextualization and reproduction of knowledge at all levels. Bernstein termed the processes involved in recontextualizing knowledge for the purpose of creating school knowledge *The Pedagogic Device*.

## Bernstein's Theory of the Pedagogic Device

The pedagogic device is composed of three stable and hierarchical sets of rules; distributive, recontextualising and evaluative. *Distributive rules* regulate relationships between power and social groups, forms of consciousness and practice. They regulate who transmits what to whom and under what circumstances and operate primarily at the macro level of society. *Recontextualising rules* derive from distributive rules as they serve to mediate between originally produced knowledge and how it is transmitted through various schooling institutions. *Evaluative rules* are those that construct pedagogic practice within specific instructional settings and provide the criteria by which certain and selected knowledge is to be transmitted and acquired.[1]

The three sets of rules are interrelated and influenced by ideology and power relationships that operate at all levels of societal analysis, macro, meso, and micro. Bernstein described these rules as stable and hierarchical but we wonder whether they are not better considered as reflexive and cyclical, since all of them contribute to how

original knowledge is recontextualized on an ongoing basis. For this reason, we address recontextualizing and evaluative rules before discussing distributive rules.

*Recontextualizing and evaluative rules*

Original (primary) knowledge is generated (produced) and accepted at the macro-level of society. From that knowledge, certain aspects will be selected and thereby legitimized for transmission for the purpose of schooling. Therefore, for original knowledge to become school knowledge, it is reorganized ('tampered with'). It is being recontexutalized because decisions are made about (1) what to include in the curriculum for transmission, and (2) how to present the 'what' to the learner; that is, how the knowledge is framed in the process of instruction.

Through processes of condensing, refocusing, simplifying, modifying or elaborating, knowledge is taken out of context (decontextualized) and transformed for reproduction. Such actions place the originally produced knowledge into a new context, thereby changing its essence. As Bernstein observed, whenever knowledge is moved from one site (its primary context) to another (the secondary context), there is a space in which ideology begins to operate because choices reflect ideology. Each time such choices are being made for particular purposes, a primary body of knowledge gets changed, resulting in what Bernstein differentiated as 'thinkable' and 'unthinkable' knowledge.

Thinkable knowledge consists of approved knowledge and agreed-upon practices in a particular context whereas unthinkable knowledge consists of taboo or new knowledge not included in the recontextualizing process. Bernstein used as an example of such distinction his own experiences in what often is called 'woodshop.' To become a carpenter demands more, if not different knowledge, than simply producing 'a pile of wood shavings' in a class called 'shop.' Similar examples

pertaining to 'life' music and 'school' music are not hard to find; suffice it to say that all knowledge originally produced in the primary context (such as universities, corporate research labs, or artists' studios) goes through processes of recontextualization by which the original knowledge is being transformed into something else. Bernstein (2000, p.31) termed any body of knowledge that was recontextualised for the purposes of schooling 'pedagogic discourse.' Two principles of discourse, instructional and regulative, operate with or against each other in determining the nature of that discourse. *Instructional discourse* (ID) creates the rules that determine the subject matter content; rules that maintain social order constitute *regulative discourse* (RD).

According to Bernstein (2000, p.32), instructional discourse is always embedded in regulative discourse. Thus:

| | |
|---|---|
| INSTRUCTIONAL DISCOURSE | ID |
| REGULATIVE DISCOURSE | RD |

In other words, regulative discourse is dominant, telling learners as well as teachers the extent to which they can do what they do, and the why and how of doing it. Concerned with mode of transmission, creation of social order, identity, manner and conduct, regulative discourse provides the values, beliefs and rules about the selection, relation, sequence and pacing of each school subject. Regulative discourse defines the thinkable and unthinkable knowledge within the curriculum for pupils and teachers alike, and set guidelines as to what constitutes classroom order. As already stated, instructional discourse is necessarily embedded within regulative discourse and dependent upon its production of order. It provides the principles by which the 'what; and 'how' of teaching and pedagogic practice are recontextualized.

Figure 1 is an overview of the processes just described. We believe it makes a case for the importance of understanding how original knowledge is turned into school knowledge, music included: Who selects what for what purpose and under what circumstances is an important question if we apply sociological analyses to the field of music education. It is a question that reaches into issues of educational policies as well as politics and requires an examination of self-interests among musicians, educators, music educators, our students' interests, and those in control of school policies.

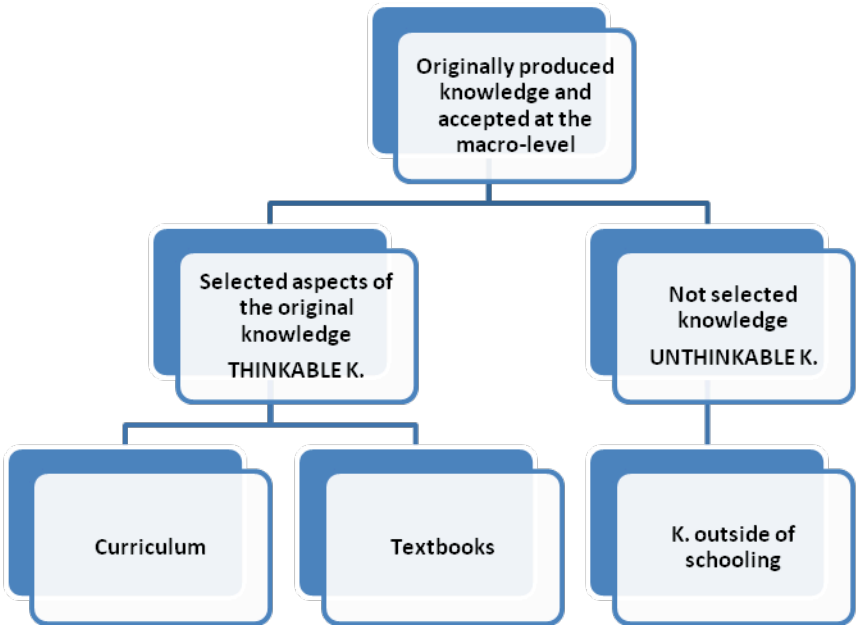


Figure 1: The process of recontextualizing original knowledge

Evaluative rules, the third set of rules in Bernstein's theory of the pedagogic device, establish the criteria for knowledge transmission and acquisition. These rules govern practice in the classroom by defining the standards that must be attained during instruction. In this respect, evaluative rules operate upon subject content and influence how that content is transmitted, to whom it is transmitted, according to what criteria, and in what contexts. Pedagogic practice, therefore, is the result of complex rules that make the transmission of original knowledge nearly impossible. The often multiple

processes of recontextualization due in large measure to evaluative decision-making, practically ensure that knowledge is never transmitted in isolation from norms and values condoned by dominant societal groups. As a result and by definition, pedagogic discourse carries with it the transmission of deeply imbedded societal values.

*Distributive rules*

This set of rules, listed by Bernstein first in his theory of the pedagogic device, was actually added last to the theory before his death in 2000. Drawing on Bourdieu's concept of field and habitus, Bernstein presented a sociological description for the sites within which recontextualization of knowledge takes place. Within the primary level of the pedagogic device, he identified two recontextualizating *fields* in which different agents make decisions that bear on the transformation from original knowledge to pedagogic discourse: (1) the *official* re-contextualizing field (ORF), 'created and dominated by the state and its selected agents and ministries' (e.g. for curriculum, assessment, and supervision/inspection); and (2) the *pedagogic* re-contextualizing field (PRF), comprising, for example, education departments in universities, subject journals, private research bodies, publishers and others transforming texts for disposition (or reproduction) by teachers in schools and colleges.

Both fields (the ORF and the PRF) work with and against each other; as one holds dominance, the other seeks to assert itself against such dominance. Bernstein identified a steadily increasing threat to the autonomy of the PRF through increased ORF activities, if not interventions. One such example would be the increased call for state formulated curricula and nationally imposed evaluative rules. Many other examples can be found in efforts to articulate uniform policies for music education

across regions, provinces, or even one nation-state. A primary concern in such cases is often who sets the policy and whose values find their way into the curriculum.

## The Pedagogic Device Applied to Music Education

If one follows Bernstein's theory of the pedagogic device as outlined, the 'what' of music teaching would be linked to power relations whereas the 'how' of teaching would be part of control mechanisms. However, power and control are always linked, which means that content selection in school music is by necessity classified and interactions framed. If we use Bourdieu's terms and replace the words power and control with habitus and cultural capital, we may see clearly why the contents of the aesthetic curriculum in schools inevitably reflect the dominant cultural ideology of those in authority. It is the result of a control mechanism that happens at all levels of schooling, be it at the primary, secondary, or tertiary level; be it at the national level, the meso or school level, or, indeed, at the micro level of the classroom, where knowledge may be further recontextualized in terms of the inclinations and ideologies of individual teachers.

To be sure, at the macro level of society strong classification and framing processes exist that engender hierarchical relationships just as much as at the micro-level of the classroom. The difference is that relationships at the macro-level are less available for public scrutiny. At the local school level, on the other hand, subject specialists as well as education and public authorities strive for power to decide on the pedagogic discourse within the curriculum. In all cases, strong classification and framing efforts at both levels reduce, if not question, the often-held notion that teachers are autonomous decision-makers when it comes to determining teaching content.

We believe the above issues to be central to the sociological study of music as a curriculum subject. Identifying the degree of strength of classification and framing at all levels, from curriculum outlines to classroom delivery, contributes to a detailed description and understanding of the pedagogic discourse of music. It also allows for the identification of the constraints music teachers face in their decision-making processes.

Music teachers' decisions are limited by the choices available to them in particular instructional contexts, the latter of which are framed by influences outside the control of teachers and students alike. At the same time, though, and because of the uniqueness of each music instructional context itself, pedagogic practices across teachers and schools are unique as well. This means that pedagogic discourse in music varies from school to school and teacher to teacher, despite any macro-level controls that may determine curricular content or set evaluative rules. It is this dialectic between macro controls and micro framing that needs further attention by sociological research in music education. In particular, insights are needed about the impact of recontextualization processes on (1) the curriculum presented to pupils, (2) the pupils' images of worth and self-worth in relation to such recontextualized music content, and (3) teachers viewing themselves as autonomous decision-makers and/or re-framers of knowledge.

Finally, the political nature of the pedagogic discourse becomes clear when one considers the socio-political contexts within which instructional decisions are made. For example, such queries as who qualifies to be called a musician, who may be called 'musical,' and what counts as an instrument 'worthy' of school instruction become socio-political questions when different interest groups in education and music seek to answer them for the purpose of articulating curricular policies.

Processes like these are in need of sociological scrutiny because they can shed light on the nature of extant policies.

## Music Schooling as a Class- and Code-specific Educational Practice

If, as both Bourdieu and Bernstein assert, schools exist to 'do it over,' that is, to reproduce knowledge and cultural and, thereby, class relations, curriculum debates, seen in this light, are, in large measure, struggles for cultural dominance (see also Shepherd and Vulliamy, 1994). Dominant classes that win battles for culture imposition seek to imprint their worldviews, ways of being or, in Bourdieu's terms, their habitus, upon the rest of society. Culture is used in pursuit of social and political control or hegemony; in some measure those who own the curriculum own society, they attempt to define 'the thinkable' or legitimate knowledge.

Such a view sheds light on some of the most persistent questions in the field of music education concerning whose knowledge is sanctioned as valued knowledge and how it is approved for transmission in schools. The question, in Bernstein's terminology, deals with the relationship between representatives of the ORF (Official Recontextualizing Field) (ORF) and the PRF (Pedagogic Recontextualizing Field).

For example, if in the United States music were to be designated federally as a required school subject, Federal, state, and regional education accreditation boards (ORF) would be deeply involved in the articulation of curricular requirements of all levels of instruction. Thus, educational policy decisions controlled by the ORF would reach deep into the articulation of music teacher education programs at the state and local level. Such impact would also affect policies of the National Association of Schools of Music (NASM) and set the boundaries of musical and academic skills and knowledge deemed most necessary to meet the demands by ORF representatives.

However, absence of an explicit National Curriculum affords potentially more autonomy to agents of the PRF. As a result, regional partnerships between local organizations could implement music educational policies that are sanctioned jointly by musicians, music educators, community music centers, advocacy groups, professional organizations, and business leaders. Nation-wide partnerships, on the other hand, likely put together by representatives of the ORF, might tend to exclude as possible dialogue partners any social groups far removed from the interests of those in power at the Federal or State level.

Assume, for instance, that all parties in the ORF and PRF, both at the Federal and local levels, were in agreement that all students should be prepared to become--in Bernstein's terms--carpenters instead of students in woodshop. Because and as long as everyone agreed, there would be no problem in pedagogic decision-making. On the other hand, if, and as is the case both in the United States and the United Kingdom, there were standing disagreements between representatives of the two fields (ORF and PRF respectively) as to the purpose of schooling (i.e., whether carpentry or woodshop should be the focus), some groups in the dispute would have little to no chance of making their voices heard in articulating what would best benefit the education of the young. At stake in the case of music education, therefore, is the question of where representatives of the two fields (ORF and PRF) stand on the issue of cultural capital in regard to school music and how those voices are heard who belong to neither of those two decision-making fields.

## Consequences for Action

We have suggested here, as has been asserted before by Al Ramahi and Davies (2001), Thomas and Davies (2006), and Wright (2006, 2008), that school and higher

education teachers have a role to play in the recontextualization of knowledge within individual establishments. They are not always simply to be regarded as reproducers; that is, transmitters; of knowledge alone because the process of transmission itself recontextualizes knowledge. If one accepts this premise, then the culture and habitus (the code) of music teachers, as well as those who educate them and who appear to predetermine the form and content of their pedagogy, also play a role in the recontextualization of music knowledge in each particular school.

The education route taken by the majority of music education professionals in state-maintained secondary schools in the UK requires possession of an initial degree in music. Although the variety of music degrees available is beginning to widen, students with 'new' degree courses have only just begun to enter initial teacher training institutions. The vast majority of teachers at present working in school music therefore are still products of a musical training that is firmly embedded within the western art music tradition. Because schooling's reproductive processes assure that many of these teachers are themselves from a middle class background, the teachers, in Bourdieu's terms, tend to advantage children who possess middle class habitus as well. Aspirant working class students who achieve a place in higher education in music will have almost certainly been inculcated during their school and higher education into the dominant ideology with its reinforcement of assumed superiority of high art music.

For music education, then, the message seems clear: neither specific knowledge nor acquired skills are ever neutral; they always carry hidden values and cultural preferences. That awareness suggests that the successful perpetuation of covert cultural capital would have to be accepted as valued knowledge not only by groups with power over professional subject areas and by those in positions to exercise control over curriculum content and formation. Rather, acceptance and

cooperation would be needed by representatives of groups not affiliated with decision makers in either education or music.

If members of the music education field wish to challenge the status quo on the basis on its role in perpetuating social distributive injustice through music education, there are a number of actions that would have to be taken. First, perhaps, we should look at the education routes offered in music teachers' professional preparation. What habitus do prospective music teachers reflect and how does such habitus relate to the dominant culture? What adjustments would be required in the preparation of music teachers? Secondly, curriculum and policy documents would need to be read with awareness that no document is ever free of messages of power and control. Analysis of the messages underlying such documents and the development of the ability to critically evaluate policy prior to implementation are skills that may be developed during teacher professional preparation and development.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly: Because teachers have important roles to play in education not only as recontextualizers of knowledge but also as recipients of recontextualized knowledge, the habitus of music teachers may in many cases predispose them to act as reproducers of existing social inequalities in music education. Therefore, if music educators wish to become agents for social change in school music, raising awareness of the issues of culture and code during preparation/training may serve to equip future music teachers to address such issues in practice. As Apple (1993, p.212) asserts:

> We must acknowledge and understand the tremendous capacity of dominant institutions to regenerate themselves […] Yet at the very same time […] we need never to lose sight of the power of popular organisations, of real people, to struggle, resist and transform them. Cultural authority, what counts as legitimate knowledge what norms and values are represented in the officially sponsored curriculum of the school, all of these serve as important arenas in which the positive and negative relations of power […] will work themselves out […] and all of them

involve the hopes and dreams of real people in real institutions, in real relations of inequality.

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**Endnotes**

[1] See also Robertson: http://www.aare.edu.au/03pap/rob03669.pdf